NEWS FROM SOVIET GERMANY

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by

FRITZ LÖWENTHAL

COMPUTRIZED

Translated by

EDWARD FITZGERALD

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
	Author's Preface	7
Chapter I.	The Political Background	13
II.	The Collapse of Law	55
III.	The New Potsdam	78
IV.	Saxony under the Soviet Star	105
V.	Saxe-Anhalt	126
VI.	Thuringia	142
VII.	Mecklenburg and West Pomerania	153
VIII.	Labour Conditions	174
IX.	Sabotage	209
X.	Murder—Rape—Robbery—Kidnapping	236
XI.	Russian Strategy and the Eastern Zone	283
	Postscript	317
	Index	319

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO UNDERSTAND this book the reader should first know who wrote it and why it was written.

I was born in Munich in 1888, but I practised as a lawyer in Berlin. In 1927 I joined the Communist Party. In 1930, I was elected a member of the Reichstag. The Brown Shirts raided my flat the morning after the burning of the Reichstag. By a piece of good fortune I managed to evade them, but my life was in danger and I left the country a few days later. After two years spent in Holland and France, I went to Soviet Russia, where I remained for nearly twelve years. At the end of 1946 I was allowed to return to Germany, where I was placed in charge of the Control Department of the Central Legal Administration set up in the Russian Zone. What I saw while I held this position, coupled with my previous experience in the Soviet Union itself, finally decided me to come out into the open and play my part in the defence of humanity against the evil encroachments of barbarism in whatever form it may threaten.

The same indignation against injustice and oppression which had once led me to join the Communist Party in the belief that they fought for a better future for mankind now impels me to write this book. It is a passionate protest against the injustice and oppression being committed to-day by those very people who, when they were not in power, cried out so loudly against injustice and oppression.

Let no one say that injustice becomes justice because it is perpetrated in the name of a system which men of violence seek to cover with the cloak of progress. Whoever seeks to accomplish good ends by bad means inevitably involves himself in a maze of deceit, and finally loses sight of his original aim as he sinks ever deeper in a morass of illegality and injustice. Only the courage to uphold the truth without fear or favour, and, come what may, to follow always the stern voice of conscience can help mankind to extricate themselves from the confusion and chaos of our time. It is in this conviction that the following book has been written; to make known to all the things that I saw and learned during my work in the Central Legal Administration of the Russian-Occupied Zone of Germany.

The facts which are disclosed in this book are based partly on official documentation, partly on personal knowledge and investigation on the spot, confirmed by reliable information from other

sources. The period covered was naturally by no means long enough for an investigation into every nook and cranny of the Eastern Zone, and although the material presented in this book must therefore be regarded as a sampling rather than a complete picture, it must not be thought that it is haphazard or untypical. The material collected comes more or less equally from all parts of the Eastern Zone, and it provides a uniform picture of similar and typical happenings everywhere throughout the zone.

This is largely due to the fact that the administration of the Eastern Zone is built up faithfully according to the Russian pattern, and that the backbone of the "German" administrative apparatus —the so-called Socialist Unity Party—strictly follows Russian methods and Russian instructions in everything it does. The extent to which that is the case can be fully realized only by those who from their own experience know Russian living conditions, the inner mechanism of the Bolshevist State and the ways in which it exercises its power.

To obtain a better understanding of what is happening in the Eastern Zone to-day one should view the facts against their proper background of conditions in the homeland of Bolshevism. As I had the opportunity of studying these conditions for more than ten years, not merely superficially as an outsider, but from within the bolshevist power apparatus itself, and as I gradually came to regard them with a critical eye—despite my unwillingness to believe the evidence in the beginning—this book can at the same time be regarded as a contribution to a better understanding of the bolshevist system as a whole.

It was not an easy matter for me to arrive at a true appraisal of bolshevist reality. Twenty years ago I joined the Communist movement because I was attracted by the logical homogeneity of Marxist teachings and by the romantic aureole of the Russian November Revolution, and repelled by the happenings in the capitalist world. As a German, I earnestly desired to help the oppressed and exploited in my own country, and, as a European, I sought a better way than that which had already once ended in disaster. The bolshevist experiment seemed to promise both material and moral renewal. Although there were certain features I did not approve of, and although a journey I made to Soviet Russia in 1931 showed me clearly that appearances must not always be taken at their face-value, nevertheless for a long time the thought that the laborious task of building up a new order of society under such difficult conditions could not be carried out wearing kid gloves, and that the defects I had witnessed were birth pangs, for some time disposed of my doubts.

Many bitter experiences were necessary before I was able to face

the disagreeable truth that it was not merely isolated, haphazard and temporary phenomena that caused life in Soviet Russia to take on such disagreeable forms, but that, in fact, these phenomena were fundamental and organic; that they were deep rooted in the character of the system itself and inseparable from the structure of the Bolshevist State. And even when I could no longer close my eyes to these facts I still resisted their implications. There is nothing a man is less willing to abandon than his long-cherished illusions. But in the end my need for intellectual integrity vanquished my desire for comforting illusions.

But honesty towards oneself demands honesty towards the world around. Unfortunately, that is a very difficult matter in the Bolshevist State. From 1935 to 1938 a wave of political arrests had swept across the whole country. The mere expression of a desire to leave the country would have been quite sufficient to arouse deadly suspicion. And it was still less possible to express the slightest doubt. The Bolshevist State does not permit its subjects to develop along any lines other than those clearly laid down, nor does it permit them to draw any conclusions from their experiences which might contradict in any way the particular form of the ruling doctrine for the time being in favour. Any attempt to exercise freedom of conscience is bound up with acute danger to life and liberty. Thus if I were physically to survive I had to bide my time and dissimulate and conceal my real feelings.

Even when the war was over I was not permitted to return home, and it was only towards the end of 1946 that I was finally allowed to go back to Germany.

I arrived in Berlin after an absence of fourteen years. I still cherished a hope, though not a very strong one, that in the Socialist Unity Party I should find something which represented the real interests of the German people, but in a very short space of time I was forced to recognize that this party could never have come into existence at all, and that it could not continue to exist, without the full backing of the Soviet occupation authorities. The first thing a visitor notices when he enters its spacious party headquarters in the Lothringerstrasse is an over-life-size statue of Lenin. Russian officers march in and out constantly, and the oppressive atmosphere in which a man must guard his tongue for fear of being overheard is exactly the same as in all official institutions in Soviet Russia.

My opportunity for investigating the sorry state of affairs in the Eastern Zone came almost by accident. I was taken to Walter Ulbricht in the party headquarters and greeted by him in the Russian fashion with a supposedly fraternal kiss on the cheek. During the years I had spent as a political emigrant in Soviet Russia he had

been "the Comintern Representative of the German Party" and, so to speak, the representative of Providence itself for the German Communists living there. During those years his attitude towards me had been far from fraternal, for he suspected me—quite rightly—of being prone to form my own judgments. However, they now urgently needed every old Communist, and an important post was to compensate for all old smarts.

Without taking much notice of his Social Democratic "double", Max Fechner, who sat opposite (the two parties which amalgamated to form the Socialist Unity Party are supposed to have parity of representation in it) Ulbricht suggested that with my legal training I could take over the Control Department of the Central Legal Administration. I agreed, and my appointment was forced through by the Russian occupation authorities, who thought me just another docile hanger-on, against the objection of the President of the Administration, the aged former Reich's Minister for Justice, Dr. Schiffer, who naturally did not want another Communist on his staff.

I took up my post, and before long what I saw of the administration and of what took place behind the scenes caused my sense of justice to revolt.

As I found it impossible to conceal my feelings altogether during the discussions which took place as part of my official duties, my colleagues of the party fraction began to attack me more and more sharply, until finally it became very clear to me that if I wished to avoid being sent to the Headquarters of the occupying authority in Karlhorst "for inquiries", or perhaps even being dragged out of bed at night and carried off as a "reactionary", it was high time that I saved myself by getting out of the Russian Zone. In a police regime which brutally suppresses freedom of opinion, flight is the only way for those who think differently to preserve their freedom, and often their lives.

With my flight from the Russian Zone a whole period of my life came to an end; one filled with hope, hard work, political activity and, finally, bitter disillusionment. It was not as the result of any sudden impulse, or with a light heart, that I finally turned my back on a movement to which I had given the prime of my life. And now the recognition that my error has contributed towards strengthening others in that same error imposes a duty on me to reveal the truth to the world.

In order not to endanger people who are still within reach of Russian vengeance, I must decline to mention many of my informants by name. When I became a political fugitive for the second time, with my flight from the Eastern Zone on May 25th, 1947—

fleeing this time not from the Nazis, but from patented and guaranteed "Anti-Fascists"—the collection of material for this book, in so far as it refers to official information and personal observation, came to an end.

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

One of the chief causes of the collapse of the Weimar Republic was the disruption of the German working-class movement. However, the mere recording of this fact does not get us very far. Only a clear recognition of the causes and background of the fact can help us to draw valid conclusions for the future. Once Fascism had been victorious in Germany and the disaster had become clear to all, there was a strong desire for anti-fascist unity. However, by this time it had lost much of its practical significance and become deeply emotional. Nothing was more natural than that in the hell of the Nazi concentration camps, where Communists and Social Democrats suffered side by side, both longed to see the establishment of working-class unity after the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. Even those political emigrants who had managed to evade the concentration camps or escape from them abroad, discussed the question, though less emotionally and more critically. In the meantime the Socialist and Communist underground resistance groups formed by those who had remained in Germany often acted in concert beyond their strictly party limits.

When the fascist dictatorship did finally disappear with the military collapse of the fascist State, the desire for working-class unity arose everywhere with elementary force. From the bitter lessons of the terrible years of suffering through which they had passed, the more thoughtful elements amongst the working class determined to prevent any recrudescence of the old reactionary, feudal, militarist and imperialist system by destroying once and for all the economic basis on which its political power rested. For this, of course, the solid unity of all anti-fascist elements in both town and country was necessary, and, in order to establish it, various Social Democratic politicians and party groupings approached the leaders of the Communist Party in the spring of 1945 with a proposal that discussions should be opened up between them on the point. They were rebuffed. At first the Communists refused to reply at all, and then after a while the Central Committee of the Communist Party rejected the idea of organizational unity as premature, declaring that unity could be established only on an ideological basis.

This, of course, meant that the Communists were prepared to

agree to unity only on their own terms and under their own banner. At first they believed they could win the broad masses of the German workers over to their side, and they greatly under-estimated the loyalty of large sections of the workers to Social Democracy. They therefore regarded negotiations with the Social Democrats as unnecessary and even undesirable. However, it was not long before they were compelled by hard facts to recognize that they had been over-optimistic. Owing to the widespread atrocities and excesses committed by the Red Army and to the equally widespread abuse of their power by a great proportion of the Communists who had been appointed to office by the Russian occupation authorities, the masses of the German people had become deeply suspicious of everything connected with Communism or Communists, and the establishment of an all-Communist domination was the last thing they desired. In consequence the sympathies of the population for Social Democracy rapidly increased. The Communists therefore made one of their facile political somersaults.

They launched a campaign for organizational unity, but only on their own conditions. In other words, they still wanted a bolshevist party in which they pulled the strings. At Easter 1946, with all possible support from their Russian masters, who did not hesitate to use their power and authority to sweep away all resistance, and with the assistance of a number of Social-Democratic leaders who had walked into the trap, the Communists founded the "Socialist Unity Party". The ordinary membership was not consulted in the matter at all. "Democratic Centralism" was the organizational principle of this new party; in other words, complete domination by the party Central Committee and its wire-pullers without regard to any inner-party democracy. The agreement for "parity of representation" in all the leading organs of the new party was nothing but a fraudulent manœuvre to deceive the masses. With the ruthless assistance of the Soviet Military Authority, the Communists immediately and systematically began to destroy the influence of the Social Democracy in the new party, and those Social Democrats who had been deceived into joining it soon discovered that it was merely the old Communist Party under a new guise. Before long the Communist efforts were successful, and the Social Democrats found themselves completely without influence in a party which began to show its bolshevist character more and more once the object of "unification" had been achieved.

The "Unity" Party was brought into being by a combination of fraud and intimidation, and it was not long before it was seen that the giant had feet of clay. Municipal elections took place on October 20th, and in Berlin, which was the only place in the

Eastern Zone where the Social Democratic Party still officially existed and where the elections were still reasonably free, the Social Democrats polled half the total votes, whilst the "Unity" Party succeeded in polling only one-fifth. The "results" in the rural areas of the Eastern Zone, where the terrorist pressure exercised by the Russian authorities and their agents, the "Unity" Party, was stronger and more open, were naturally, on the face of it, more favourable to the new party.

The Fig-Leaf of Eastern Democracy

In order to create the impression that a really free and democratic way of life prevailed in the Eastern Zone, the Russian authorities permitted the existence of two bourgeois parties, the Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union, though they have to be members of the Communist-dominated "Anti-Fascist Block". In addition, there are a number of so-called "non-party" organizations such as the Free German Trade Union Federation (F.D.G.B.), the Free German Youth (F.D.J.), the Democratic Women's League, the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, the Cultural League for Democratic Revival, and so on. Further, there are co-operative retail societies, Anti-Fascist Propaganda Groups, "spontaneously" formed Societies for the Study of Soviet Culture, the Union of Victims of Fascism (V.V.N), whose anti-Fascist tendencies the Communists are successfully canalizing into a pro-Soviet mould, and an organization called "People's Solidarity", which is on exactly the same lines as the old Nazi N.S.V., and carries out "People's Actions" just like the old Nazi "Winter Relief Scheme".

An appeal issued by the Free German Trade Union Federation in the "model land" Saxony calling for the formation of special committees indicates that the bolshevist wire-pullers in the background are tireless in their invention of "non-party" auxiliaries to bolster up their activities. These latest committees are "to encourage voluntary mutual aid between producers and consumers, to advise the authorities and all economic bodies in their efforts to meet the requirements of the consumers, and to assist in the distribution of working clothes and footwear". Everything is done in the name of the people, by the people and on behalf of the people. It is only on examination of the conception "people" that the swindle is revealed for what it is: a Communist machination.

The three permitted parties—the "Unity" Party, the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party—form the "Anti-Fascist Block", which, the leaders of the "Unity" Party would have the world believe, is something quite different from an ordinary coalition of parties. Wilhelm Kuelz, the chairman of the

Liberal Democratic Party, describes the block as "an association of anti-fascist ideology". But an organization which is anti something or the other tells us nothing about what it is in favour of. The fact is that this "Anti-Fascist Block" is the fig-leaf to cover the nakedness of Eastern Democracy. The leaders of the two bourgeois parties realize quite well the price required of them for the continued existence of their parties. Witness, for instance, the public declaration of Dr. Huebener, a member of the Liberal Democratic Party and Premier of Saxe-Anhalt, in Stuttgart that no citizen living in the Russian Zone need fear kidnapping, and the statement of Dr. Kuelz, Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, that vigorous opposition is permitted in the Diets of the Eastern Zone against the "Unity" Party.

The "Unity" Party is right in one respect, the "Anti-Fascist Block" is not an ordinary coalition of parties. A coalition as generally understood is formed by independent political parties coming together in their own interests and at their own free will and on the understanding that in the event of differences of opinion any one of them can withdraw at any time from the coalition. That certainly does not apply to the "Anti-Fascist Block", and neither the Liberal Democratic Party nor the Christian Democratic Union could withdraw from it or even disown the doings of the "Unity" Party. To do so would be political hara-kiri. The two bourgeois parties are tolerated by the bolshevist impresarios of the "Anti-Fascist Block" because their existence helps to camouflage the fact that the bolshevist one-party system is in operation in the Eastern Zone. That toleration will continue just as long as it suits the bolshevist book and as long as the bourgeois Cinderella parties slavishly obey their bolshevist step-mother. Should they ever dare to act independently against the interests of the bolshevist authorities, that will be the end of them. They are puppets to add conviction to the painted democratic backcloth erected in the Eastern Zone. The alternatives before them are to continue to act as political Quislings or suffer political extinction followed by exile or arrest and concentration camp. They have no other choice.

How that works out in practice can be seen from the pitiful attitude of the Thuringian Minister for Justice, Dr. Kuelz (son of the Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party), in the notorious case of Landrat Sonntag in Weissensee, and of Dr. Huebener when, just before the Diet elections in 1946, he thundered against illegal leaflets which had been distributed to inform the population of the facts of the Mader–Schwabe scandals, and threatened the severest measures against such "actions hostile to the State". Dr. Heinrich of the Christian Democratic Union, a Ministerial Director in Mecklen-

burg, is another one of the same sort. He is praised in "Unity" Party circles as "showing so much understanding for the needs of the time" that many a member of the "Unity" Party might well take a leaf out of his book. They are mere puppets; when the Bolshevists pull the strings they wave their arms and dance.

But, no matter how much "understanding for the needs of the time" they show, and no matter how hard they try to adapt themselves, in the end their fate is certain. For the upholders of "unity" it is a question of all or nothing. The present situation is a mere interregnum. When the leaders of the Liberal Democratic Party were not quite bolshevist enough at their national congress in Eisenach, and when the leader of the Christian Democratic Union, Jakob Kaiser, dared to raise his voice a little, they were quickly rapped over the knuckles and called to order. The Central Soviet Military Authority in Karlshorst sent out instructions to all the local commanders in the Eastern Zone to increase the surveillance maintained on all officials of the C.D.U. and the L.D.P., and to work for their gradual elimination from political life.

No form of political activity is possible in the Eastern Zone except within the very strict regulations issued by the Russian military authorities. For instance, all speeches and lectures must first of all be submitted to the censorship and approved. And this censorship does not merely strike out what it does not approve of, but it also "recommends" the addition of material which seems to it advisable. Certain important questions of interest to the German people are not permitted to be mentioned at all; for instance, the Oder–Neisse frontier in the east, the dismantling of German factories, the deduction of reparations from current production, and so on. Various other questions may be mentioned, but never in a critical spirit—for instance, the land-reform scheme, and the taking over of German undertakings by Soviet firms. Important foreign political questions, such as the Marshal Plan, may be presented only from the Russian point of view. Any speaker who offends is forbidden to speak in public again—unless worse befalls him. A youth conference of the Liberal Democratic Party was prohibited on the ground that young people would in all probability not be sufficiently mature to form a proper judgment on difficult and complicated political questions.

The activity, correspondence and communications of officials of the L.D.P and the C.D.U. are carefully watched. Members of these parties are urged by both promises and threats to turn their backs on their own parties and join the "Unity" Party. Ministers and responsible officials who are members of one or the other of these bourgeois parties are surrounded by "reliable" observers and watched at every step. Whoever does not "adapt" himself sufficiently to satisfy his

bolshevist masters will sooner or later have to "resign voluntarily" from his post. For instance, the Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party in Dresden, Herr Buergel, was informed by the Soviet Military Authority that he must resign all official positions in the party on the grounds of "overwork", that he must not make use of his mandate to the congress of the Liberal Democratic Party in Schandau and that he must not go near Schandau whilst the congress was in progress. "Measures" were threatened in the event of his failing to obey these instructions. For Buergel this was the writing on the wall, and he preferred to put himself beyond the reach of the S.M.A. and the N.K.V.D. by hurriedly leaving "model" Saxony and taking refuge in the Western Zone.

Anyone who does not do exactly what is required of him, or who makes himself awkward in any way, can be quite certain that measures of one sort or the other will be taken against him promptly and without fail. An L.D.P. member of the Saxon Diet named Mundt demanded in the Diet that half of Saxony's industrial production and half of the foreign currency obtained from her exports should be put back into her economy to ward off the threatening danger of economic collapse. Immediately the "Unity" Party launched a campaign of personal denigration against him, declaring that during the war he had bought Polish machinery and ill-treated foreign-born workers. Mundt was able to prove that he had bought all his machinery from German firms, and he vigorously denied the other accusation. Anyone who knows the conditions which exist in the Eastern Zone will realize only too well the danger threatening any man who is charged with such things, whether he be innocent or guilty.

In order to intimidate the bourgeois fractions when embarrassing questions are feared in the Diet they are always previously "invited to attend discussions of the Anti-Fascist Block", at which, of course, every effort is made to dissuade them. In June 1947, with the same object in view, the Central Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.D.) in Karlshorst called a conference of the "Anti-Fascist Joint Committee" of the Block Parties in the "House of Soviet Culture" in Berlin. And when opposition became vocal in the Berlin organization of the Liberal Democratic Party against the spineless capitulation policy pursued by the Chairman of the party, Kuelz, the Eastern Zone Leadership called the district leaders of the Russian Sector of Berlin together and threatened them with the displeasure of the occupation authorities if the opposition continued. After the congress of the L.D.P. in Eisenach two leading members of the Thuringian L.D.P. whose attitude had not altogether pleased the Russian military authorities were "invited" to Karlshorst, where the error of their ways was made clear to them, whilst Captain Kratyn of

the S.M.A.D. was sent to interview the chairmen of the Christian Democratic Union branches in Dresden and Halle concerning their attitude to the Chairman of the party, Jakob Kaiser.

At the same time constant pressure is exerted to bring about the ideological disintegration of the bourgeois parties. "In order to strengthen the progressive elements", the Central Soviet Military Authority requested all three block parties to send a number of their younger officials for a three-months course of instruction on political, economic and cultural conditions in the Soviet Union to be given in Russian at Koenigswusterhausen. The participants were all to draw their full pay whilst away, and in addition receive a supplement of 300 marks a month, first-class food-cards, supplementary military rations and week-end leave.

The peak of the "unity" campaign was reached with the so-called "People's Congress". As the influence of the "Unity" Party on the masses of the people is visibly dwindling even to the eyes of the most optimistic, and as new elections are likely to have unpleasant, if not altogether unexpected results, the wire-pullers of "People's Democracy" are compelled to undertake new manœuvres. The desire of the great mass of the German people for national unity was exploited in connection with the London Conference of Foreign Ministers, and a "People's Congress for National Unity and a Just Peace" was called in Berlin in December 1947. This congress was "non-party"—that is to say, it was called over the heads of the other parties—and it proclaimed the desirability of a single German State, naturally under bolshevist domination. The transparent plan of holding a nationalist congress of Communists and their supporters naturally met with no approval outside the Eastern Zone, and the spirit in the block parties of the zone was not very enthusiastic, so the wire-pullers had to pull for all they were worth to create the impression that broad masses of the people had sent representatives to the congress. As it turned out, many L.D.P. and C.D.U. "delegates" were not less surprised at their election than their alleged "electors". But those of them who showed an unwillingness to make use of such phoney "mandates" were called to their local Kommandanturs and told bluntly that in the event of their refusal the occupying Power would know where they stood. Workshop and factory meetings were hurriedly called as the result of telegraphic instructions, and lists of "delegates" were presented to be elected "by acclaim". The "delegates" who arrived at the congress from the Western Zone were mostly elected in Communist cells.

There was much talk at this precious congress about the Ruhr and the Saar district, but not a word about the Oder-Neisse frontier in the east. The pressure which was exercised on the L.D.P. and C.D.U.

delegates was, in the words of the chairman of the Saxon C.D.U., Hickman, "beyond the power of the individual to resist".

However, the Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, Jakob Kaiser, continued to oppose the whole scheme, and he was not to be persuaded by any sort of manœuvre, so the Central Soviet Military Authority tried to force him to resign. When Kaiser refused to do this either, the occupation authorities made any further political activity on his part impossible in the Eastern Zone despite the fact that he still enjoyed the confidence and support of his mandatories, and a directorium subservient to the Russians was forced on the Christian Democratic Union. Whoever still openly supported Kaiser was arrested, as for instance the Mayor of Liebenwalde, Otto Kientzel, and the leader of the "Youth Union" in Frankfort-on-Oder, Bernd Becker. Some of the threatened leaders of the Christian Democratic Union managed to make their escape in time—for instance, the Saxon Diet Deputy, Bohlmann, after he had been summoned to the local Kommandantur and informed that whoever was in favour of Kaiser was a criminal and would be prosecuted as such. The chief editor of the Christian Democratic Union organ in Schwerin, Jansen, resigned rather than publish an article attacking Kaiser.

The opposition against the spineless policy of the Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, Kuelz, was also broken in the same fashion. The Chairman of the Dresden organization of the party, Gerd Wagner, and a number of his supporters "disappeared" without trace. The L.D.D. Diet Deputy, Holler, managed to escape to the Western Zone. The organizational secretaries of the party in Potsdam and Schwerin, Welkow and Jaeckel, were compelled to resign. The Berlin organization of the party, which was opposed to the subservient policy of Kuelz, decided to move its headquarters into the American Sector. Before it was able to do so a mysterious fire broke out on its premises, and in the general confusion which resulted an important part of its records, etc., disappeared.

The circumstances in which this "Congress" was organized demonstrated clearly that henceforth only completely subservient elements were to be tolerated. Under the pitiful leadership of Kuelz, the Liberal Democratic Party lost the last vestige of its independence without a fight, but the subjugation of the Christian Democratic Union had to be achieved by force. The attempt to make Bolshevism attractive to the German people under the guise of a "supra-party" has very little hope of success, but as any open move on the part of the Communists in that direction has even less, we must reckon with further manœuvres until the wire-pullers feel that the time has come for the bolshevist dictatorship to show itself in all its nakedness.

Those "above the Parties"

Any "Anti-Fascist Democrat" can become a member of any of the so-called "non-party" organizations mentioned previously, whether he is a member of one or other of the Block Parties or not. But whilst the Communists in these organizations are strictly organized in their "fractions", any such attempt on the part of those who think differently is regarded as conspiracy. In this way the Communists are in a position to discuss all questions relating to the "non-party" organization before the members of these organizations themselves. They then put forward their own decisions in the membership meetings, and, thanks to their strict organization and the compulsory attendance of their members, they can usually carry whatever they want, obtain the election of their own candidates to office, and keep the organization firmly in their hands, all under a pseudo-democratic cloak.

At the same time these "non-party" organizations open the door to bolshevist propaganda and allow it to penetrate into circles which would normally be closed to it. Behind the mask of "political neutrality" the bolshevist wire-pullers can put forward these organizations when circumstances make it seem desirable to keep the "Unity" Party in the background. For instance, at the Diet elections, candidates of these "non-party" organizations were put forward as well as official candidates of the "Unity" Party. Naturally, all these "non-party" candidates were in the pocket of the "Unity" Party. Thus innocents might be led to suppose that free and democratic conditions of election existed in the Eastern Zone, and, in addition, these phoney candidates took some votes from the bourgeois parties and added them to the "Unity" Party's effective total.

This sort of juggling with allegedly "non-party" organizations has other advantages. For instance, thanks to the obsequiousness of the former Reich's Minister, Dr. Wilhelm Kuelz, the "Unity" Party in Saxony succeeded in extending the "Anti-Fascist Block" by the inclusion of the Free German Trade Union Federation. Before that the "Unity" Party had held only two votes in the Block, whilst the bourgeois parties had also held two. But with the inclusion of the unions the "Unity" Party had a clear majority, because, of course, the federation was a crypto-Communist organization completely controlled by its Communist fraction. The Premiers of the Eastern Zone operated with precisely the same trick at the conference of Premier in Munich. At the instructions of the Russians, they demanded the inclusion of "representatives of the trade unions and other organizations of the masses of the people", and in this way the "Unity" Party obtained a majority it was not entitled to numerically.

But that is precisely what they are aiming at. As the "Unity"

Party no longer enjoys the support of any large section of the population, and as new elections, if they are held on democratic lines, will result in heavy "Unity" Party losses, the "non-party" organizations must be called in to give the "Unity" Party a decisive influence in defiance of the will of the electors. A further advantage of this sort of juggling is that each Communist vote can be counted several times over. For instance, the Free German Youth has a membership of 125,000 in Saxe-Anhalt, according to the statement of the Youth Section Secretary of the "Unity" Party. Now, 100,000 of these members are also members of the Free German Trade Union Federation, and a further 58,000 are members of the "Unity" Party, so that many votes count threefold.

Naturally, this sort of trickery meets with resistance, but as the leader of the "Unity" Party, Wilhelm Pieck, has observed with cynical frankness: "If the Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union are unwilling to agree to the entrance of the Free German Trade Union Federation and of other mass organization to the Anti-Fascist Block then we shall find other ways and means of reinforcing the will of the people." In other words, the leaders of the "Unity" Party will stick at nothing; if they cannot obtain their will in one way they will try in another; and as they enjoy the support of the all-powerful Soviet Military Authority they will break down all opposition to their plans in the end.

The "Non-Party" Organizations

The Free German Trade Union Federation was formed at the instance of a so-called preparatory committee which issued an appeal on June 15th, 1945, for the creation of free trade unions (at first in Berlin only)—that is to say, at a time when optimistic illusions still existed concerning the character of democracy in the Eastern Zone. Each of the twenty administrative districts of Berlin formed a district committee composed of delegates from eighteen industrial unions based on the principle of one union only in each factory. Subsequently, but independent of the Berlin organization, a Free German Trade Union Federation was also formed on the same principle in the Eastern Zone. By the beginning of July 500,000 of the 1·5 million persons employed in Berlin were members of the federation, and 3·3 millions of the 7·5 millions employed in the Eastern Zone. They were not all willing members, particularly in the provinces, where considerable pressure was brought to bear to make workers join the federation.

Just as in the "Unity" Party, the principle of "democratic centralism" operated in the federation too. The statutes and all decisions of the delegate conference are binding on all the affiliated unions and

on every member of each union. The Central Council appoints all officials from top to bottom, and it also controls the entire funds of the federation. Thanks to this strictly centralized structure, the Central Council, which is, of course, in the hands of the "Unity" Party, is in a position to crush any opposition at once. Thus the Free Trade Union Federation in the Eastern Zone is a completely subservient tool in the hands of the Bolshevists. Generally speaking, this fact is not openly admitted, though occasionally there are incautious admissions of an obvious fact. For instance, a telegram sent by the Saxon provincial council of the Free German Trade Union Federation to welcome the congress of the Saxon District of the "Unity" Party refers to "the particularly close relationship" which exists between the federation and the "Unity" Party, "the relation of an ally". And in a pamphlet entitled "New Tasks of the Free Trade Unions", the author—the Communist leader, Walter Ulbricht—welcomes the fact that members of the federation have allegedly "rejected the blather about party-political neutrality".

In fact, the Free German Trade Union Federation works hand in glove with the "Unity" Party. Whilst, for the sake of appearances, the "Unity" Party still has to preserve certain democratic forms, the Communists in the federation have no such scruples in their dealings with the moderate elements. Whoever does not unconditionally support all the decisions of the Communist leadership is abused and threatened as "a Reactionary". Insistent pressure is exerted on workers in the factories to make them join the federation, and those who refuse are treated as "enemies of the people". As the federation and its workshop and factory committees wield very considerable power—for instance, the latter can give or withhold their consent to dismissals, and no dismissals can take place without their permission—it is clear that the workers themselves have not much choice in the matter.

In the factories and undertakings owned by the Russians the federation does little or nothing to protect or further the interests of the workers. Its task in such circumstances is almost exclusively to boost production and increase the productivity of labour. Whoever is well in with the unions enjoys certain important material advantages in the distribution of foodstuffs and manufactured goods. The federation also plays an important role in the so-called "People's Democratic" bodies, such as the various committees for the combating of black-market activities, hoarding and absenteeism and so on. Needless to say, it takes a leading part in all political actions, such as "protests against the imperialist policy of the Western Powers", and so on. When the "Unity" Party wants a job done which it is unable or unwilling to do itself, it pushes forward its

pawn, the Free German Trade Union Federation. Factory meetings are usually mere formalities. The workers are called together to say yes and amen to a previously prepared motion which is hurriedly read and voted on. There is rarely a discussion. The chairman asks whether anyone is against the motion, resolution, protest or whatever it is, and, hey presto, it is "unanimously" carried. After that the central council, which is controlled by the "Unity" Party, receives these "spontaneous demonstrations of the working class" and takes action "in accordance with the will of the people". The Free German Trade Union Federation is, in fact, one of the most powerful instruments for the sovietization of the Eastern Zone.

All real initiative on the part of the workers in the factories is stifled by a rigid system of control and surveillance. Every factory or Works Council has two members of the "Unity" Party whose duty it is to report all "undemocratic happenings" to the Russians. Shortly before the municipal elections a conference of Works Councils took place at which there was "free discussion". One of the delegates was bold enough to remind the conference that they had all condemned forced labour when the Nazis had introduced it and he protested against its continued existence under the Russians. He was immediately interrupted by the federation chairman and deprived of the floor, and a motion for his expulsion was then moved—and no doubt the matter was also brought to the notice of the N.K.V.D.

All the usual tricks and showmanship are used to boost the membership of the federation and keep alive the interest of its members. For instance, the Schwerin *Landeszeitung* tells of a "Socialist Competition" between the Mecklenburg and Brandenburg districts of the federation to see which could get the most recruits by October 1st, 1947. The increase aimed at was 20 per cent of the existing membership, on an average 4 per cent a month. In the first month the Mecklenburg district managed to increase its membership by 3 per cent, but this was, as it explained, due to the fact that "certain districts" were able to increase their membership far beyond the set aim of 4 per cent. Such fun and games are supposed to keep the members in breathless suspense, or at least do something to lift the leaden pressure of utter disinterestedness which is inevitable in an organization which calls itself "free" and is in reality a strait jacket for those who are coaxed, intimidated and browbeaten into joining it.

The "Free German Youth"

The Free German Trade Union Federation is a very close imitation of the old Nazi "German Labour Front" under Ley's leadership, and the Nazi "Hitler Youth" has a similar successor in the "Free German Youth" in the Eastern Zone. The main principle of its

operations is the old Communist ultimatum: "Be my brother or I'll bash your head in". The bolshevist wire-pullers are moving heaven and earth to get all young people into their "united" youth organization. Once they are in, or the majority of them, then the time will have arrived for the next step: "The State Youth Organization".

In order to make membership of the Free German Youth attractive, its members are given certain privileges, such as reduced railway fares for outings, the hope of taking part in a delegation to the Soviet Union, special facilities for the purchase of manufactured goods at reduced prices, including clothing, and so on. The youth groups in the factories are given special subsidies by the management. A network of sanatoria, club houses, youth theatres and sport facilities are open only to members, etc.

Sport apparently strikes the authorities in the Eastern Zone as a dangerous matter unless it is strictly controlled, and therefore all the former sports organizations, including those of the working class, are being squeezed out in favour of the Free German Youth, which is being encouraged to establish a monopoly. In Guben, for instance, gymnastic apparatus, parallel bars, vaulting horses and so on, belonging to ordinary sports organizations has been confiscated on the ground that it is used for "military training". When speakers at a conference suggested that independent sport associations should be permitted, General Kotikov declared that by adopting such an attitude the speakers had demonstrated that they had no understanding for the spirit of the time and must be removed from their posts at once.

The Free German Youth is well organized in the Eastern Zone. It has a big apparatus, a General Secretariat, a large paid staff, and a publishing house of its own, and it issues a weekly organ, *The Youth World*, in an edition of 500,000, and a fortnightly organ, *New Life*, with a very large circulation, some of which is distributed in the Western Zone. It has also drawn up a very attractive, but thoroughly fraudulent "Constitution for the Youth" along Soviet lines, which includes political rights, the right to work, to training and education, and the right to happiness.

The organization is supposed to be "non-party". Just how "non-party" it is may be judged from a speech delivered by Colonel Tiulpanov, the leader of the Political Department of the Central Soviet Military Authority, at the so-called "Youth Parliament" organized by the Free German Youth in Meissen, some of whose female delegates incidentally narrowly escaped being raped by their Russian brothers in uniform. The gist of the Colonel's speech was that it was quite wrong to attempt to draw a dividing line between the East and the West. The real dividing line was the one drawn between progress and reaction. In the leading big Power of

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the West, the United States, millions of Negroes were deprived of all human rights, whilst Wallace, who fought for democracy, was opposed by the big trusts and by American imperialism under the leadership of monopoly capitalism. Thus could anyone seriously contend that the United States was a progressive country? The dividing line did not run between East and West but between anti-fascists and reactionaries. In Germany, for instance, Pieck and Grotewald, the leaders of the Socialist Unity Party, represented the only guarantee for progress. Everything which did not belong to the Socialist Unity Party belonged to the Reaction.

The "future leaders" of the Free German Youth are brought up in this same "non-party" spirit. In addition to a Central School for Leadership, there are numerous training homes, such as the "Red Stronghold" in Camburg, the district school in Bad Berka and the Youth School Schwarzburg in the Thuringian Forest. These places are run more or less on the lines of the Nazi "Ordensburgen". Likely members of the Free German Youth undergo courses of training at these schools, which consist primarily of cramming them with the political slogans of the "Unity" Party. The same sort of "education and training" is provided for children to turn them into "free upright, democratic citizens", and the United Children's Association "Kinderland" is run by the Free German Youth and has "school groups" in all schools.

Incidentally, it is not surprising that former members of the Hitler Youth feel themselves quite at home in such a "militant" organization and are joining it in masses, as they are encouraged to do by such all-embracing and indiscriminate slogans as "Ruthless struggle against all reactionary elements in a fighting organization of all honest and upright Germans". It is for them, so to speak, the same thing in blue. No practical difference at all.

The Catholic youth organizations are not so happy in the Eastern Zone. In March 1947 many of their members were arrested by the Russians and have not been heard of since. On account of this and other manifestations of hostility the Catholic youth organizations refused to take part in the "Youth Parliament" organized by the Free German Youth in Meissen, and its central body publicly expressed the hope that the "Parliament" would not represent the beginning of a new campaign against Christianity in the Eastern Zone. The hope was over-optimistic. Not that the campaign carried on by the authorities with the co-operation of the Free German Youth is particularly anti-Christian; it persecutes all sorts and conditions of youth associations which are not prepared to swallow Bolshevism hook, line and sinker, and, above all, it persecutes the Socialist Youth Association.

Culture in Leading-strings

The Eastern Zone would naturally not be complete without a League of Culture. Its publications bear the imprint "Aufbauverlag". The founder of this publishing house was refused a licence by the Soviet Military Authority because he had reissued a novel written by Erik Reger, the editor of the *Tagesspiegel*, which is so much hated by the Russians, describing German re-armament and the Nazification of the Krupp concern, a book which created something of a stir in anti-fascist circles when it first appeared. At the instructions of the S.M.A. the edition had to be limited to 1,000 and the licence was handed over to the League of Culture.

In Berlin, thanks to the existence of four different Sectors, there is lively competition in the newspaper and publishing world, but once out in the provinces the visitor is astonished at the totalitarian sameness. According to Order No. 55 of the Control Council, all newspapers appearing outside the Eastern Zone shall be permitted to circulate freely in the zone, but the Russians snap their fingers at this in practice. The Munich *Neue Zeitung*, and the Berlin *Telegraf* and *Tagesspiegel* have all reported a great number of concrete instances which prove beyond all doubt that in fact the bolshevist authorities in the Eastern Zone systematically do their utmost by chicanery and intimidation to prevent the circulation of the free Press in their zone. In many places newspapers from the Western Zone are seized by the local police and destroyed. Many newsagents have been subjected to so much chicanery and put to so much trouble that, willynilly, they have been obliged to cease ordering such newspapers. All readers and subscribers of Western newspapers are suspected persons who must reckon with persecution on the part of the authorities. For instance, a citizen of Bautzen who had been daring enough to subscribe to the Berlin *Telegraf* found himself arrested by the N.K.V.D. and subjected to merciless questioning for four nights in succession. Small wonder if in such circumstances people discontinue their subscriptions. In Wittgendorf, near Chemnitz, the publican Paul Schubert was arrested by the N.K.V.D. because he had copies of the Berlin *Tagesspiegel* and one or two other publications from the Western Zone in his local for the use of his guests. The situation is well epitomized in the answer of a newspaper-seller at Potsdam railway station to a traveller who asked her if she had a copy of the Berlin *Telegraf*: "Of course I haven't; you don't think I want to end up in a G.P.U. cellar, do you?"

A pamphlet containing a speech by the U.S.A. Secretary of State Marshall was confiscated in tens of thousands of copies in the Eastern Zone. In this case Colonel Tiulpanov announced that the German police had acted without Soviet instructions. They certainly had not

acted against Soviet instructions, and it made no difference to the facts. By washing his hands in innocence Tiulpanov hoped to avoid the taking of counter-measures by the authorities in the Western Zone against the circulation there of newspapers and other publications produced under bolshevist control in the Eastern Zone.

The bolshevist authorities have set up as strong a barrier as possible against the transmission of news from the Western Zone, and they are extraordinarily sensitive to any attempt to breach it, for they are well aware that nothing is so calculated to undermine their influence as the spread of truth. In the beginning unpolitical publications like *Auslese* were tolerated in the Eastern Zone, but before long they, too, came under the axe. The Catholic *Petrusblatt*, the religious organ of the diocese of Berlin, is naturally unable to penetrate into the bolshevist paradise.

The only newspapers which are not under suspicion in the Eastern Zone are those licensed by the Russians, including, of course, the *Taegliche Rundschau*, the officious organ of the Red Army. The emptiness and boredom of this Russian-licensed Press have to be experienced to be believed. For one thing, its editors are in a constant state of nerves for fear they might let something slip through the authorities would not like. The effect of that can be imagined. Like the *Pravda*, their great exemplar in Moscow, they use truth only in homeopathic doses, and whoever seeks a true reflection of the outside world in them is disappointed. It is like looking into a distorting mirror; the outlines are bent, the shape is twisted and the proportions are grotesque. And whatever does not suit the bolshevist rulers is either cut out altogether or "corrected".

Paper is very scarce and quite unobtainable on the free market, and all supplies have to be obtained through the S.M.A., which thus occupies a controlling position and is able readily to encourage some publications and penalize others. What this means in practice can be seen from the fact that, for instance, the *Thueringer Jolk*, the organ of the "Unity" Party, is able to appear five times a week, each day in an edition of 450,000 copies, whilst the organs of the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party together can issue only 20,000 copies three times a week. In all, the "Unity" Party newspapers have a total circulation of 2,225,000 copies weekly, whilst all the organs of the bourgeois block parties put together reach a total of only 60,000 copies a week. It must not be thought that this represents effective public demand; far from it; it merely reflects their official paper quotas.

The *Regierungsblatt*, the *Taegliche Rundschau* and generally the papers of the "State-supporting" "Unity" Party, are favoured and privileged in every possible way, not only in the matter of paper.

It is only a concession, made in view of the fact that conditions in the Eastern Zone are not yet "ripe", that independent newspapers and publications are allowed to appear at all. And even the word "independent" must not be taken too seriously. Any editor who used news sources from the Western Zone to drill even a small hole in the Iron Curtain would soon have cause to regret his temerity. Much better stick to the "official sources": the Moscow news service, TASS, and the Russian-licensed "German News Bureau".

The institution of preliminary censorship has been abolished, but in its place there is a "Council for Ideological Questions", which closely watches over the bolshevist purity of the printed word in the Eastern Zone. As an example of its watchfulness there is the case of a Catholic prayer book which was allowed to be printed and published in the Eastern Zone. In a litany for the faithful there were two prayers which met with its disapproval. One item prayed for "a God-fearing Government" and the other that "the victims of unjust violence should be freed from all oppression". Subversive prayers like that mustn't be prayed in the Eastern Zone, and they were both blue pencilled.

Just as in the days of Goebbels, all the newspapers in the Eastern Zone are under an obligation to print certain material officially provided for them, and the Press Service of the "Unity" Party regularly sends out articles (also to Communist newspapers in the Western Zone) as "must" contributions. If any of the editors of the so-called independent Press ever showed any signs of breaking away from the herd, then their paper supplies would be cut down or their licence withdrawn.

Very little is necessary for an editor to fall foul of the highly suspicious S.M.A. For instance, the Berlin organ of the Christian Democratic Union bitterly compared the increasingly difficult situation of the handful of bourgeois newspapers, able to appear only two or three times weekly in a small format and a low edition, with the favoured situation of the "orthodox" Press with its huge and regular editions. The answer of the S.M.A. was to cut down its paper supply so ruthlessly that it practically disappeared from the streets. A few months later, when the Christian Democratic Union was "brought into line" at the time of the phoney "People's Congress", the old editorial staff, which was loyal to Jakob Kaiser, was dismissed and replaced by men loyal, or at least subservient to Moscow, and then sufficient paper was supplied for a circulation of 125,000. The *Union* in Dresden, which published a speech delivered by Kaiser against the Oder–Neisse frontier, was confiscated.

If anyone living in the Eastern Zone is anxious to know what is going on in the world outside he finds himself faced with almost in-

superable difficulties. The wireless won't help him much. Even under its first chief Mahle it was strictly controlled by the S.M.A., though it did make an attempt at being "non-party". But his successor, Heinz Schmidt, tells us that under his direction the wireless will no longer "wrap itself in a mantle of objectivity and colourless neutrality", but will openly pursue "an honest German national policy above all the parties".

The Mayor of Ottersleben was, of course, a little ahead of his time —though not much—when he officially announced that anyone who listened to any station but Berlin and Leipzig would be punished by the confiscation of his set. And in Gera the population was called upon to surrender all sets with more than two valves, as the two-valvesets were quite powerful enough to listen in to Berlin and Leipzig —but not to Western stations.

The time has not yet arrived in the Eastern Zone to drag "secret listeners to foreign stations" before the courts and impose heavy sentences. But already any one known to listen in to "hostile" stations is automatically suspect, and what that means our readers must by this time have some idea. A man can lose his life in the Eastern Zone without being dragged publicly to the gallows. For the moment the Russians are content with jamming all emissions from Hamburg, Stuttgart, London and so on, particularly when anything unsuited to the ears of the lambs in the Eastern Zone is broadcast. Things, in fact, are made just as difficult as possible for anyone who wants to hear anything but the orthodox slogans churned out by Berlin and Leipzig.

The Eastern Zone is systematically flooded with pro-Soviet literature describing the delights of the bolshevist paradise, but at the same same time serpents have to be kept out of it, and for this purpose the League of Culture has drawn up an "Ideological Index" of "undesirable" books. The second, enlarged, edition of this ponderous tome has already been published. It is interesting to note the names of the "suspect" authors; they include George Sorel, Henry Ford, even Bernard Shaw, and, of other days, Martin Luther and Ulrich von Huetten.

Although the preliminary censorship has been abolished for newspapers and periodicals, it still exists for books, pamphlets, leaflets, placards and printed announcements of "a politico-social nature", and these must all first be laid before the occupation authorities and receive the "*nihil obstat*". The permission of the Central News Office is necessary for the printing of scientific and artistic works and belles-lettres. All other publications of an unpolitical nature without exception, including business papers, accounts, prospectuses, family announcements, programmes and visiting-cards, must first be sub-

mitted to the local News Office. The guardians of "People's Democracy" in the Eastern Zone realize that any form of printed matter may harbour dangerous thoughts, and they are determined to protect their charges from all contamination.

It is interesting to speculate to what extent this ruthless machinery is effective in shaping the minds of the inhabitants. It would be idle to pretend that it is without effect. As the Nazis clearly recognized, constant hammering makes dents, but nevertheless the hammer is a rather primitive instrument. If there were nothing but propaganda in the world the bolshevist rulers of the Eastern Zone might well be happy, but in addition to their propaganda there are the hard and excessively ugly facts which their presence in Germany has created, and the two are in constant collision at every turn. The result is that under the surface the inhabitants of the Eastern Zone are resentful and bitterly hostile to the Russians and all their works, and in particular to their tools of the "Unity" Party. If the Russians had to withdraw from the Eastern Zone, then all the "unity" machinations and the "non-party" swindle would collapse at once.

The Films

The film and theatre world in the Eastern Zone has naturally been harnessed into the service of Soviet propaganda, but, at least, audiences can still stay away, and they do. Propaganda pieces play largely to empty houses. On the other hand, pieces by Thornton Wilder, for instance, are described by the authorities as "undesirable". What is the poor producer to do? Officially there is no "degenerate art" as yet in the Eastern Zone, but it is on the way. Even a good old favourite like "The Gypsy Baron" can no longer be produced, despite its enormous and lasting popularity, because "now that the land reform scheme has been introduced a piece flattering large-scale landed property owners is out of date".

Some of the Russian films shown in the cinemas are good, but very many are pitiful rubbish, odiously glorifying war, precisely as the Nazi films once did, except from the other side. The effect on the German youth can hardly be favourable. The villages are treated with visits from specially organized travelling cinemas which show films in favour of agricultural collectivization and depicting the wonders the Kolkhoz system has achieved in the Soviet Union.

There is no sphere of life or human activity which has not been seized on by Soviet propaganda. Everything in the world is presented in a dogmatic one-sided fashion. The people of the Eastern Zone are to be intellectually and spiritually isolated from their fellow countrymen in the West. Everything is concentrated on the magnification and glorification of the Soviet State, and nothing is

allowed to appear through any of the normal channels which might spoil or cast doubt on the rosy-coloured picture.

But, as is the Russian custom, business is not forgotten altogether in the welter of propaganda. For instance, cinema proprietors in the Eastern Zone are expected to hire all their films from the Soviet Export Film Co., including at least 40 per cent of Russian films. The contracts which have been concluded end in 1951, but they are automatically extended for another five years if neither side gives notice to end them. In view of the fact that the one party to this precious "contract" is completely at the mercy of the other, the contract is really nothing but a brutal strait-jacket, and anything similar would arouse the most indignant protest if it were committed by a powerful monopolist capitalist firm. Cinema proprietors are absolutely helpless. They know perfectly well that expropriation hangs over their heads. Throughout Mecklenburg it has already been carried out. By showing fascist films during the Hitler regime they are officially said to have become ideological accomplices of Hitler. How sincere this explanation is can be seen from the fact that proprietors who bought their businesses only after the collapse of the Hitler regime were also included. Cinema owners are now in exactly the same position under the Russians as they were formerly under Hitler.

Even booksellers are more or less in the same boat. Action is now being taken against many of them on the ground that under Hitler they sold fascist literature.

The same chill bolshevist wind is blowing everywhere in the Eastern Zone, even in the museums. Potsdam Privy Councillor Heise has now called for "an ideological clean-up in the museums". He is supported by a certain number of young and pushing newly-appointed curators who are beginning to protest indignantly against "the lack of representatives of the trade unions, the youth organizations and the other non-party mass organizations in the sphere of museum activities".

Artists in the Eastern Zone have nothing to laugh about either. A "Jury" has been set up in Potsdam "to cleanse creative art" and all their work must first be submitted to it. Upon the result of this examination will depend whether artists will be permitted to exhibit or be "directed to useful work". This "Jury" has already been at its cleansing work for some time, and according to an interpellation in the Potsdam Diet a number of established artists who have sent their work to exhibitions for many years have found themselves turned down by this "Jury", denied the right to call themselves artists, and been "directed" to dismantling work. In short, everything is gradually being wrenched into the same totalitarian pattern

that Germany knew under Hitler and Russia knows under Bolshevism.

Those at the Top

What is the role of the "Unity" Party in all this? Before we can answer we must draw a distinction between the wire-pullers in the background, the conscious followers of the party and the mass of docile camp followers.

The visible leadership of the "Unity" Party is represented by Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grotewohl. Grotewohl still lives on the reputation he acquired whilst he was in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party. His speeches and his writings before the establishment of the "Unity" Party show clearly that he was well aware of the danger that a new, "united", party would be swamped by Communists in the conditions existing in the Eastern Zone, but to-day he acts as though he could see and hear nothing and had lost his memory to boot.

Wilhelm Pieck, who has been an Honorary Citizen of Berlin since his seventieth birthday recently, can look back on a long revolutionary past, but ten years spent in exile in the Soviet Union have left their mark on him. He has had a front seat to witness the downfall of such once great men in the Comintern as Bela Kun, Heinz Neumann and Hermann Remmele, who were all arrested by the N.K.V.D. and spirited away. That experience has gone some way towards reinforcing his own understanding of the necessity for "strict discipline". Now the one-time proletarian occupies a modest nine-roomed villa not far from the headquarters of the German G.P.U., the Central Administration of the Interior in Wilhelmsruh, where he entertains high Russian officers and other influential worthies. In order to increase his popularity in the ranks of the faithful, the "Unity" Party has distributed plaster busts of him in vast quantities and various sizes. You can buy a life-sized bust in bronze of the great man for 420 marks; if, on the other hand, you are satisfied with a plaster cast about a foot high, then it will cost you only 18 marks. On the other hand, if you feel inclined to make any disrespectful comment, it will cost you three days "protective arrest"—allegedly to save you from the wrath of the multitude—which was the fate of a worker in Thale in the Harz who committed *lèse-majesté*. So if you want to call him "Wilhelm III", as so many do, it must be under your breath.

Walter Ulbricht, with his melodious Saxon dialect, is the wire-puller in chief for so many other wire-pullers behind him. Before he started on his German mission he grew a little beard because he thought it made him look like Lenin. It was the only point of

resemblance. He is a mediocrity with no ideas of his own, a bureaucrat with a burning ambition; for power he would sacrifice anything, including human beings, and he has done so.

A little more in the background is the Rhinelander Frank Dahlem, though he is perhaps none the less influential on that account. He is in charge of something called "Personnel Department", but beware of taking that harmless-sounding title at its face value; it is the spy department of the "Unity" Party. He maintains particularly close and amiable relations with "Comrade" Lieutenant-Colonel Meller, the representative of the Polish Government in Berlin, but it may be assumed that their conversations never touch, or never officially touch, on the disagreeable question of Germany's eastern frontier. Since Comrade Molotov announced that the Oder–Neisse frontier is fixed and unalterable, the Berlin branch of the Moscow international has completely lost interest in the matter.

The attitude of the Thuringian Minister Eggerath is typical of the complete subordination of the "Unity" Party and its leaders to the Russians. Speaking at a meeting of officials in Muehlhausen on March 29th, 1947, he told his listeners that he was not prepared to tolerate any criticism whatever of the occupying Power and its army, and when one of the Mayors present insisted on producing a mass of evidence on their misdeeds, he threatened the courageous man with the Public Prosecutor.

The "new democratic order" in the Eastern Zone has been a very good thing for the "Unity" Party. Amongst other things it has "inherited" seventeen large estates confiscated from their original owners, including the 15,000-acre estate of Boernicke near Bernau, whose present mistress is Lore Pieck, the daughter of the party leader, Wilhelm Pieck. Another estate now in the hands of the "Unity" Party is Gut Liebenberg, which formerly belonged to Count Eulenberg. That is even larger, being no less than 40,000 acres in extent. Its hunting castle, where the prominents of another day were once entertained, now has different guests, including our proletarian leaders, Pieck and Grotewohl. Eleonore Pieck, another daughter of the efficient Wilhelm, was allowed to purchase a house in Niederschoenweide valued at 14,650 marks for a mere song—1,200 marks—at the instructions of the Sequestration and Expropriation Committee. "Father Pieck" is a living repudiation of the slander that Communists have no family sense.

"Political Devotion" Counts

The reliable followers of the "Unity" Party consist of old Communists who have returned to Germany from exile, chiefly in the Soviet Union, but also from the United States and Mexico, or who

were released from concentration camps by the Nazi collapse. It is these men who now occupy all important posts in the new party, and many high offices in the State. They are everywhere in the Berlin central administrations of the Eastern Zone. The various Ministries of the Interior, the peak positions in the police forces, and the personnel departments are all in their hands. They are also the leaders of the confidential Central Administration for Military Affairs, which is the camouflaged War Ministry of the Eastern Zone. They are such men as Schreiner, an old Comintern man who returned to Germany from New York. After the November Revolution in Germany in 1918 he was for a time Wurtemberg Minister for War, and under the pseudonym "Dorothy Woodman" he wrote a valuable book on the secret armaments of Nazi Germany. Zaisser, another old and reliable confidant of Moscow, who was once Chief of Police in Halle, is another one. In the twenties, camouflaged as a representative of Fords, he was the chief of the Soviet espionage system in Manchuria, and during the Spanish civil war he was Marty's right-hand man on the staff of the International Brigade.

A disciplined Communist is expected to obey the instructions of his leaders at once, without question and without hesitation; to take his place in the bolshevist espionage and information organization; and to conform to every somersault of policy like an automaton. Provided he avoids all compromising excesses it does not matter what his moral character is; his political loyalty is all that counts. There are, of course, frequent intrigues in the ranks of the Communists arising out of an individual or group desire for power and position, out of vanity or, quite frequently, lust, but outwardly the whole movement is united against the rest of the world by a sort of underworld camaraderie and solidarity.

The ranks of the old brigade, the core of the party, are constantly reinforced by the graduates of the party schools, which are semi-military political cramming institutions for the production of a suitable line of succession. On the basis of a programme worked out by the Moscow propaganda centre for the whole world, which is constantly kept up to date and supplemented according to the special requirements of each individual country, these schools provide a basic stock of Communist knowledge, whose chief ingredient is a detailed history of the Russian Bolshevist Party. The dogmatic part of this knowledge is a thrice holy collection of political formulas and slogans which has to be swallowed whole, but in tactical matters students are trained to the greatest possible degree of elasticity. Side by side with the political cramming the students are given a quasi-military drill. As long as their course lasts, the participants are kept, so to speak, in barracks under the strictest discipline and

constant observation. Their time is so much taken up with lectures and discussions, and with an organized programme of leisure, that they are hardly allowed a breathing space. The whole course is a mechanical affair, and there is no question of giving the students any real insight into political, economic and philosophic questions, and, indeed, that is not desired at all; quite the contrary. Like the whole system of bolshevist education and training, these courses aim, above all, at instilling an absolutely blind obedience as the best guarantee that all orders will be executed silently and without question or demur. The only thing necessary in addition to this is a minimum of the technical knowledge necessary to carry out whatever tasks may devolve on the graduates when they go back to ordinary party life.

There are many such schools in the Eastern Zone—for instance, there are five schools in the Magdeburg district alone—and their courses last for varying periods with varying curricula, according to the use to which it is intended to put the graduates subsequently. The most important is the Central Party School in Liebenwalde. All the teachers and lecturers are, of course, carefully chosen Communists.

Ideological Drill

The "anti-Fascist" schools for prisoners of war in the Soviet Union are an innovation from the war period. There are such schools in Noginsk (formerly in Kraznogorsk) and in Talizy, in the Ivanov district. These schools have special sections for German, Austrian, Hungarian, Roumanian and Italian prisoners of war. Political emigrants assisted by officers of the Red Army form the teaching staff, and their task is to train reliable recruits for the Communist Parties of these various countries. Up to the end of 1946 these schools were under the Central Committee of the Russian Bolshevist Party, but now they are under the Ministry for Internal Affairs, or M.V.D., the latest camouflage for the Russian Secret Service, formerly N.K.V.D. (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), formerly G.P.U., formerly Tcheka.

Some idea of the spirit which prevails in these schools can be obtained from questions which prisoners of war who took part in them were expected to answer in October 1946, such as: "Describe the process of capitalist exploitation?"; "Why are wars inevitable under imperialism?"; "Why was the German November Revolution a bourgeois revolution and not a socialist revolution?"; "Why does Germany need the confidence of the progressive peoples, and in particular of the Soviet Union, and how can she gain this confidence?"; "Why is it in the vital interests of the German people that the Pots-

dam decisions should be carried out to the letter?"; "Why must reactionary Prussianism and Prussian militarism be exterminated?"; "How would you justify amongst your fellows the necessity of the Oder–Neisse frontier?"; "Why do we fight for the unity of Germany?"; "Why is the unity of the German working class so necessary?"; "How did the amalgamation of the German Communist Party and the German Social Democratic Party take place?"; "How would you explain the complicity of the German people in the crimes of Hitler Fascism?"; "Why is it one of the most important tasks of the German people to pay reparations?". And so on.

At the end of the course, when the participants "graduate", they are required to take the following oath:

> "I, a son of the German people, hereby swear in undying love to my people, my country and my family, to fight on until Fascism and Militarism have been uprooted and destroyed, until the shame of Hitlerite barbarism has been wiped out and my people are thereby made free and happy again.
>
> "I swear to fight unconditionally for this aim, to devote all my energies to it and to sacrifice if necessary even my life itself, to remain loyal to the cause of freedom and of the people to the last breath in my body, and to work tirelessly to fit myself to fight this struggle successfully.
>
> "This oath binds me fraternally to all other Anti-fascists in fighting loyally for the final and complete victory of our holy cause.
>
> "I swear to proceed ruthlessly against anyone who may break this oath.
>
> "Should I break this oath and become a traitor to my people, my country and my family, may the just anger of the people fall on me. May my comrades in the struggle judge me and condemn me as a traitor and an enemy of the people, an enemy of progress and an enemy of peace."

Naturally, like everything else which is done in the Soviet Union, the swearing of this oath, with its strongly conspiratorial flavour, is "voluntary". But if any of the participants decided not to swear it, then he would be sent to a punishment camp and lose all hope of ever seeing his country, his people and his family again.

"Encouraged" by the Russian camp authorities, many prisoners of war sent messages to their relatives in the Eastern Zone in 1946 urging them to vote for the "Unity" Party in the autumn elections. With the same gentle "encouragement", they are now sending off propaganda cards to the Western Zone bearing such slogans as "Fight against Capitalism, Hunger and Death!"; "Fight for German Unity, Work and Bread!"; "Death to Schumacher and the Western

Reaction!"; "Clear the Way for the Socialist Unity Party!" The Central Soviet Military Authority in Karlshorst and the "Unity" Party between them are now preparing a selection of "voluntary" contributions by German prisoners of war in Russia describing the joys of imprisonment in the Soviet paradise. All unfavourable reports are, of course, nothing but Fascist slanders. And as for the miserable, even pitiable, condition of those who do return from imprisonment in Russia, they are responsible for that themselves because with malicious intent they rejected the good food offered them and deliberately made themselves the instrument of anti-Soviet propaganda.

These courses for prisoners of war are attended by about 2,000 chosen prisoners a year, and they therefore represent an important reservoir from which the bolshevist cadres can be refilled. Most of the pupils were formerly followers of the "Free German Committee" founded in the summer of 1943 under the chairmanship of the Communist writer, Erich Weinert, as an instrument of Russian war policy. It, too, was naturally "non-party", and it aimed chiefly at winning over officers and other educated elements amongst German prisoners of war. Many of these recruits were honestly deceived by bolshevist propaganda, which is cunning enough in all conscience, whilst others joined out of calculation. For a time there was a "League of German Officers" attached to the Free German Committee, with such prominent members as Field Marshal von Paulus and General von Seydewitz. So long as Moscow hoped that the existence and activities of this body would exercise a disintegrating influence on the German Army, it was made the centre of a veritable cult, but once it became clear that the attempt was a failure, the members of the precious League were relegated once again to the category of war criminals.

One or two particularly adaptable officers, such as the German General Staff officer and holder of the Knight's Cross, Luitpold Steidle; the present Minister of the Interior for the Mark Brandenburg, Bernhard Bechler; and the present Police President of Berlin, Markgraf, made a brilliant jump from the Fascist Third Reich into the ranks of Bolshevism—though perhaps the jump was not such a very difficult one after all. Those graduates of the schools who live in the Western Zone are also sent home, and in this way the ranks of the Communist Party there are provided with valuable reinforcements. Some of them who have learned to speak Russian are excellent candidates for the Soviet espionage system.

Even Honest Communists are Horrified

Whilst the conscious devotees of Bolshevism still hold fast to the flag, whether from force of inertia, the fear of vengeance, for selfish

reasons or for ambition, although in their hearts they are by no means enthusiastic about the conditions existing in the Soviet Union, and often have cause to shake their heads in secret at the performance of the Russian culture-bearers in the Eastern Zone, the ordinary camp followers are beyond all question deeply disappointed with the "revolutionary achievements" brought about since the end of the war. In consequence there is a considerable amount of vague unrest in the ranks of the "Unity" Party. Not only "must" members, former Social Democrats and other intimidated elements, but even honest Communists are horrified at the arbitrary lawlessness, the widespread corruption, the brutal violence of the Russian military authorities and the luxurious life of their own leaders and prominent officials. They realize clearly that there has been no real progress towards working-class unity in Germany and that the "amalgamation" was a one-sided swindle. The atmosphere in the "Unity" Party is intolerably oppressive. Each mistrusts the other, and no one can know who is observing his words and his actions and planning to denounce him at the first convenient opportunity. A frequent source of discontent is that the Russians and the "Unity" Party have often treated prominent Fascists with the greatest consideration, whilst proceeding with ruthless brutality against the little men, and in particular those who failed to scramble over to the other side quickly enough.

Professional soldiers, intellectuals and other flotsam and jetsam of the bankrupt Nazi estate are finding it an easy matter to carve out a comfortable corner for themselves in the bolshevist system, and this does not apply only to those who entered the bolshevist ranks through the prisoner-of-war courses. No doubt it is due to the fact that, with a little adaptation, these elements find themselves quite at home under the new totalitarianism. For instance, when the Red Army entered Leipzig, the Communists put forward Karl Plesse for the office of Police President. When it became known that he had been an active Nazi under Hitler he had to be withdrawn, and he was replaced by the Communist Wagner, whose first official action was to arrest the Social-Democratic Superintendent of Police, Schaefer, and three Social-Democratic department chiefs and replace them by Communists. Within two weeks 400 policemen of various grades who were either Social Democrats or suspected of sympathizing with Social Democracy had been dismissed, and many of them arrested and incarcerated in the concentration camp at Muehlberg on the Elbe. Wagner appointed his twenty-eight-year old professional-soldier nephew Rossner as chief of the Political Department, where he distinguished himself by very great brutality. This Rossner is now chief of the Department for Combating Social

Democracy. This Department is part of the Central Administration of the Interior in Berlin, the innocent-sounding "German G.P.U." Under the leadership of Chief Privy Councillor Marquard, another "re-educated" officer of Hitler's Army, the purge of the police in Leipzig was continued vigorously until the last vestige of Socialist influence in the force had been liquidated. In 1946 the purge was extended to the Welfare Office and the Fire Brigade. The C.I.D. in Leipzig now works in the closest co-operation with the district leadership of the "Unity" Party, represented by Ernst Lohagen and the Chief of the I.F.O., Krumme. Neither the Lord Mayor nor the appropriate Ministers can obtain any information concerning its workings except through the "Unity" Party.

Dr. Josef Witsch, who was specially decorated by no less a person than Goering "for his exemplary work in the building up of an efficient Luftwaffe", and who was then sent "for politico-cultural tasks" to the protectorates Bohemia and Moravia and to France in the Nazi interests, is now comfortably installed as chief of the Thuringian Council for Books and Libraries in Jena. A whole list, and a very long one, could be drawn up of similar cases in which one-time prominent and active Nazis now hold responsible positions in the "People's Democracy". A certain Mayor of Vienna named Lueger, a notorious anti-Semite, was once reproached because there were many Jews amongst his circle of friends and acquaintances, but he only laughed and replied cynically, "I determine who's a Jew and who isn't". In the same way the hammer-and-sickle conjurors now determine "who's a Fascist and who isn't". And, like Lueger before them, they decide according to their own momentary interests. Their formula is very simple: "a Reactionary" and "a Fascist" is anyone, no matter what his past, who does not enthusiastically support the new bolshevist dispensation and stand by the Moscow wire-pullers through thick and thin; and no one who does support whatever policy the "New Democracy" may be pursuing for the time being is either "a Fascist" or "a Reactionary", no matter what he may have been in the past.

Incidentally, the "political line" is a wonderfully malleable and elastic thing; it is determined exclusively by the tactical considerations of the moment, and it is not hampered by any firm principles of any sort. Its unchanging strategic objective is to strengthen the power of Bolshevism in the Eastern Zone under the control of Moscow. The innocent were astonished to read in the first proclamation issued by the German Communist Party after the collapse of Hitler that it was in favour of "the completely unhampered development of free trading and private initiative on the basis of private property", which was proclaimed as "one of the most important and

urgent tasks in the great struggle for the democratic renewal of Germany and the renascence of the German people". It was no use their rubbing their eyes; there it was in black and white. What was more, for the time being it was quite seriously meant, because the "German" Communist Party had received instructions from its Moscow masters that in order to extract the greatest possible amount in reparations for the Soviet Union, it should for the moment concentrate its efforts on re-starting the capitalist machinery, to which end it needed private property and private initiative.

However, owing to the confiscation of all stores of raw materials and finished products by the Red Army and the transport of the booty to the Soviet Union, the attempt proved a failure, and the policy of the Communist Party was then abruptly changed and the slogans became: "Punish all war criminals!"; "Expropriate the Nazi activists!"; "Destroy the Trusts and Monopolist Concerns!" By ceaseless and widespread dismantling and by the transfer of the most important factories to the Soviet Union, the Eastern Zone was stripped practically bare. The task of the German branch of the Moscow firm, the precious "Unity" Party, was how to conceal this process from the masses of the inhabitants as far as possible, and to justify it where concealment was no longer possible.

The campaign of the "Unity" Party for "German Unity" is superficially highly patriotic, and it is carried on with all the old nationalistic slogans, but nevertheless it is quite in line with the foreign policy of the Kremlin. "Political and economic unity for Germany" is merely a cloak for the real aims of the Kremlin and its German agents, which are to draw the Western Zone as much under their influence as the Eastern Zone is to-day and to turn the whole of Germany into a satellite of Soviet Russia. The demand of the "Unity" Party for a referendum on the question of German unity is conceived as an attractive slogan to inveigle the masses of the German people, who really want nothing to do with Bolshevism, into a united front with Moscow against the Western Powers.

The whole political programme of the "Unity" Party is nothing but a sham. They talk incessantly about Democracy, but Democracy presupposes the existence of freedom of speech and freedom of opinion, the existence of a free atmosphere in which a citizen can make up his own mind, whilst terrorism, whether fascist or bolshevist, aims precisely at suppressing freedom of opinion and discussion. All talk of Democracy in a totalitarian system such as exists in the Soviet Union, and such as the wire-pullers of the "Unity" Party are well on the way to establishing in the Eastern Zone, is nothing but a mockery and a sham to deceive the unwary. The actions of the Soviet Military Authority and of its tool, the "Unity"

Party, in the Eastern Zone prove this to the hilt. How much is all the bombastic talk about "People's Democracy" and the establishment of "real guarantees" that the "Will of the People" shall express itself really worth, when we know that anyone who is unwilling to do and say just what the bolshevist wire-pullers want him to do and say risks falling victim to the N.K.V.D. and its German agents and losing his liberty, and perhaps his life itself? But that is precisely the truth about the situation in the Eastern Zone to-day.

As the "Unity" Party supports the interests of the occupying Power in all questions and at all times, it naturally enjoys the protection of the latter. The internal relations between the two are, of course, not always visible from the outside. But the author of this book has occupied a privileged position, which has enabled him to collect a number of interesting and highly significant examples.

Whilst on an official journey to Plauen, I had occasion to visit the local N.K.V.D. in a matter concerning German jurisprudence. The liaison officer, Lieutenant Gurgenidse, introduced me to the Department Chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Byeloussov, who struck me as nervous and irritable during our conversation. I had arrived unexpectedly, and I subsequently realized that I had seen a number of people the N.K.V.D. would have preferred me not to see. First of all, in the ante-room there was a young Saxon who was acting as an N.K.V.D. spy, and then, when I returned to recover my brief-case, which I had left behind, who should I meet but the chairman of the Plauen district of the "Unity" Party.

The provincial district leadership of the "Unity" Party in the Mark Brandenburg forwarded the following report of its District Secretariat in Guben, dated June 6th, 1946, to the Central Legal Administration in Berlin:

> "This afternoon I had a talk with Lieutenant Serov of the Soviet Military Authority, who is in charge of police and legal affairs, in the presence of Lord Mayor Schwarz; the Chief of Police in Kottbus, Koentopp; Landrat Voigt; and the Guben Chief of Police, Killig. Lieutenant Serov severely criticized the party with regard to conditions prevailing at the High Court and the Central Prison here. He complained that three members of the Christian Democratic Union and eight unorganized people were employed and not a single member of the Socialist Unity Party. Judge Tilgner for instance was chairman of the C.D.U., and Lieutenant Serov demanded his immediate removal as well as that of Public Prosecutor Meier. Both, he declared, were thoroughly reactionary. He also complained that there were no law-books in the court prior to 1933 and that only law-books pub-

lished in the Hitler period were in use. Further, there was a certain Peterson, an old member of the Communist Party, in prison remanded for inquiries in connection with black market dealings in meat. The inquiry was making no progress, and must be expedited. A woman who was alleged to have fallen foul of the Mayor had been in prison for three weeks, although the court in Guben was not competent. Lieutenant Serov released this woman on the ground that there was no danger of flight. Lieutenant Serov bitterly reproached the party because in particular it had not bothered its head about the court and the prison. He demanded a written report on the situation from the Lord Mayor within five days, and said he would see to it himself in Potsdam that Tilgner and Meier were dismissed at once. Pfeiffer, of the District Secretariat of the party in Kottbus, had proposed to Lieutenant Serov that Comrade Galk should be appointed judge. The matter was discussed with Comrade Leininger, the chief of the legal department in Potsdam, and with Comrade Ministerial Director, Dr. Hoeniger, and Galk must begin his duties at once."

A report of the provincial administration of the Mark Brandenburg Department of Justice, signed by Dr. Hoeniger, and dated October 6th, 1946, reads:

"The charges made by Lieutenant Serov against the court authorities in Guben have been examined. The court in Guben lacks young and fresh forces. Temporarily the seventy-three-year-old former district leader of the Socialist Unity Party, Galk, has been appointed to work together with Public Prosecutor Meier."

In short, the Russian Liaison Officer, Lieutenant Serov, demands that the "Unity" Party shall carry out a political purge of the Guben court; the "Unity" Party in Guben approaches the Legal Department in Potsdam, and the sum total result is that the seventy-three-year-old former district leader of the party in Guben is appointed "to rejuvenate" the personnel.

Very often the Russian occupation authorities directly intervene on behalf of their "Unity" Party tools. Consider the case of Landrat Sonntag in Weissensee, the case of Diedrich in Ruppin, the Mader and Buettner murder cases, and many others. When manslaughter proceedings were opened against the Mayor of Nauen, Marzilger, a member of the "Unity" Party, for knocking down and killing a cyclist with his motor-car, the Town Commandant of Nauen summoned the Public Prosecutor to his office, rebuked him angrily for ever having let the matter come into court and then imprisoned him for several days to teach him a lesson. Picture of life in the Eastern Zone in March 1947.

The local Bible Students Association in Plauen, whose members had already suffered severely under Hitler, was prohibited by the Russian authorities, on the ground that the Bible Students had accused Communists of corruption and conducted "political agitation" against "well-known figures of the local self-administration". There is, of course, no such thing as corruption amongst Communists or "well-known figures of the local self-administration"—or, should there be, by any chance, it is a most dangerous thing to mention it.

The following circular is very illuminating concerning the close co-operation which exists between the "Unity" Party and the Russian occupation authorities:

"Organizational Committee of the Socialist Unity Party.
"District.....
"To the Organizational Committee in.....

"*Strictly Confidential.*

"At the instructions of the S.M.A., all District Committees must institute discussions on the basis of the following plan. These discussions must take place together with the local Purge Commission. All District Committees must draw up a report showing:

"1. All the work carried out up to the present; and
"2. The Purge Commission must find out whether there are any signs of disruptive activities. If so, the persons responsible must be discovered and reported.

"The reports must be ready by the latest on Monday, March 18th, and brought along to the Area Conference.

"Discussions plan: Friday, March 15th, 1946, at 8 p.m. (Names of the places concerned follow here.) Saturday, March 16th at 8 p.m. (Names of the places concerned follow here.)

"The meetings will be controlled by the S.M.A. and by the Organizational Committee.

"Organizational Committee of the S.U.P.
(Sig.)"

Apparently, however, those responsible for this tell-tale circular suddenly realized that such an open admission of the control exercised by the Soviet Military Authority on the "Unity" Party would be compromising, for on March 14th a telegram was sent out to all district committees cancelling the circular and asking that all copies should be returned without fail.

Their belated misgivings were very well founded. Consider: the S.M.A. orders the holding of discussions on a district scale in the "Unity" Party; it lays down the programme of the discussions; and

it controls the meetings at which the discussions take place. Having received their orders, the authorities of the "Unity" Party obediently pass them on. Is it, in the circumstances, in the least unfair to say that this precious "Unity" party is nothing but the subservient tool of the Russian occupation authorities?

Electoral Fraud

Consider the intervention of the occupation authorities on behalf of the "Unity" Party during the elections of autumn 1946. Every possible obstacle was placed in the way of the bourgeois parties during the election campaign. In hundreds of cases the registration of their local branches—which was necessary before candidates could be put forward—was prevented by every possible form of chicanery. Out of 647 newly founded local branches of the Liberal Democratic Party, only fifty managed to secure registration, and the proportion was much the same with the branches of the Christian Democratic Union. In Thuringia citizens known to be active members of one or the other of these parties were dragged out of their beds at night and taken to the local N.K.V.D., where they were questioned threateningly for hours concerning their activities. When some of them let themselves be intimidated, and declared that they were not members, they were made to sign their statements. These were then used to charge the local leaders of the bourgeois parties with having falsely registered people as members, whereupon the local group would be dissolved and its candidates struck off the electoral list.

The S.M.A. in Thuringia admitted branches of the bourgeois parties to registration only if they had at least ten members and if the chairman had been a member of the party for at least three months previously. Such local chairmen were then called upon to file descriptions of their political careers with the local Kommandantur. It was never possible to secure an interview with the local Soviet Commanders, and in the end they usually declared that the period in which application for registration could be made was at an end. In many places the candidates of the bourgeois parties were arrested just before the elections on various trumped-up charges, and after the elections they were released without any investigation having been made or any prosecution filed.

Many meetings called by the bourgeois parties could not be held for various reasons. Either the organizers were told at the last minute that they had not lodged their application for the meeting in time, or that it was impossible to send along an officer to be present in accordance with the regulations for holding public meetings. Sometimes the organizers were just arrested. In an important town like Plauen, for instance, the Liberal Democratic Party was unable

to hold a single election meeting. When all else failed, the Russians just requisitioned the hall in which the meeting was to take place for that evening. In some places the electric light went wrong just before the time for the meeting to start. In many districts in Thuringia—for instance, in Stadtroda, Eisenberg, Camburg, Kahla, Gera, Eisenach, Langensalza and Nordhausen—meetings were permitted only if the speaker could present the text of a censored speech. A speech which was censored and passed in one place still had to be censored in another. In many places the Political Officer allowed speakers to take the platform only if they had papers valid for the whole country. The central S.M.A. in Weimar thereupon refused to issue such papers, on the ground that it had already stamped the proposed speech. Where a speaker from elsewhere was billed, the local Political Officer often ordered that the meeting should take place earlier than the arranged time, so that the speaker should arrive too late to address it. In Gotha a speaker permitted by the S.M.A. in Weimar was refused permission to address a meeting, on the ground that he came from another district.

The distribution of petrol for cars was another way in which the bourgeois parties were hampered and the "Unity" Party favoured. In Muehlhausen, for instance, the "Unity" Party was allotted 2,500 litres of petrol for the election campaign, whilst the two other parties were allotted a total of 120 litres between them. The same sort of proportions applied to the allotment of paper and other materials. The "Unity" Party had plenty of everything, whilst the placards, etc., of the two bourgeois parties were rarely seen because they had been allowed so little paper. The "Unity" Party flooded the constituencies with leaflets. The bourgeois parties were able to print very few, and those only in small quantities; and most of those that were printed subsequently fell foul of the censor. Slogans like "Not Dictatorship but Democracy!"; "Not Dogma but the Will of the People!"; and "We are fighting for the vital interests of the German People!" were all blue pencilled. The "Unity" Party, on the other hand, could do what it liked, and it had ample technical means for spreading its propaganda. Whole façades were covered with "Unity" Party slogans, but in Plauen the typewriter of a business man was confiscated because propaganda material of the Liberal Democratic Party was thought to have been typed on it.

The S.M.A. in Halle ordered the bourgeois parties to put up all their election posters some weeks before the election. When they refused to do so they were threatened with proceedings for "electoral sabotage" and for refusing to execute an order of the S.M.A. The idea of this was that during the few days that counted the constituencies should be overwhelmed with "Unity" Party posters, to

which the bourgeois parties would be unable to reply. Towards the end of the campaign the "Unity" Party in Thuringia still had a reserve of 394 tons of paper at its disposal, whilst the bourgeois parties had hardly any. At the same time the newspapers of the latter were deliberately hampered at every turn. Supplies of paper were held up; printing-works were seized and dismantled, whilst others were suddenly taken up with reparations orders; circulation numbers were cut down by the authorities without notice; a double censorship was introduced, first of the galleys and then of the completed newspaper, and so on and so on.

At the same time rumours were deliberately spread that in the event of an "unfavourable" result of the elections the S.M.A. would take stern measures against the inhabitants. Not only was this sort of threat spread by rumours, but the "Unity" Party used it openly—for instance, its top-list candidate in Halle, Mayor Pretsch, openly declared at an election meeting in Halle Station: "How long the Red Army remains in occupation depends on the result of the election". And the following is a copy of an election leaflet distributed by the "Unity" Party in Jueterbog:

> "Men and Women! Inhabitants of Jueterbog! Electors!
>
> "On Sunday September 15th we go to the polls once again after many years. *Consider well before you cast your vote!* If you vote for the Liberal Democratic Party, the Russian garrison will undoubtedly be greatly strengthened. In that case we shall not be able to reckon on any support from the occupation authorities because there are Fascists in the ranks of the Liberal Democratic Party. No one must vote for the L.D.P. on election day. Everyone must vote for the Socialist Unity Party. Inhabitants of the town of Jueterbog, think of the future of yourselves and your children!"

The compilers of such and similar leaflets apparently never considered what a striking piece of evidence they were providing for the popularity of the Russian Red Army amongst the population. Women in particular were assured that if they voted the right way the Russians would give them more food. At an election meeting of the "Unity" Party in the theatre at Balenstadt, in the Harz, men were told off to shout at intervals during the pauses between one speech and the next: "Unless the Socialist Unity Party is victorious in the elections serious measures on the part of the occupation authorities are unavoidable!" Many "Unity" Party speakers declared that in the event of a sweeping "Unity" Party victory Marshal Sokolovski had promised to abolish ration-cards of the sixth grade (the lowest) and bring the dismantling to an end. The occupa-

tion authorities did nothing to discourage this sort of talk, and in many cases local Commandants went out of their way to reinforce it —for instance, the Commandant of Krimmitschau announced: "Vote for the Socialist Unity Party or else the present rapprochement will not be continued". And at an election meeting to which workers were driven straight from the factories in Russian lorries, a Russian officer declared: "Unless you vote for the Socialist Unity Party you won't get the points for miscellaneous distributions, and your friends and relatives in our prisoner-of-war camps will not be released."

After the elections the local Russian Commandants bitterly upbraided the Mayors of those districts which had voted "unfavourably". In rural areas around Berlin—for instance, Teltow, Beeskow and Lebus—the Russian Kommandantur called the local Chiefs of Police together through the Landrat and ordered them to close all roads leading to Berlin for foodstuffs, even the smallest quantities. In Greiz the elections gave a majority to the bourgeois parties. The local Commandant has found a simple way of putting the matter right. Just before the meetings of the Council he invariably summons three or four of the bourgeois deputies to the Kommandantur and keeps them there, thus ensuring that the "Unity" Party has a majority in the Council. It is a brave man who consents to be an official of a bourgeois party. He is subjected to every possible annoyance, and his life is made a misery. The local leader of the Liberal Democratic Party in Greiz, a man named Schoenberg, was denounced as an American spy (Wouldn't the Americans just like to know what goes on in Greiz!), and arrested by the N.K.V.D. and kept in prison for four weeks.

In short, the Russian occupation authorities support and encourage the "Unity" Party in every possible way, whilst persecuting and intimidating all its rivals. Naturally, the "Unity" Party knows how much it owes the Russians, and on April 17th, 1947—the second anniversary of the entry of the Red Army into Zwickau—the local "Unity" Party organized a great celebration to honour the "Liberators". However, in view of the anger and bitterness of the local population at the constant cases of rape and robbery being committed by "men in Russian uniform", the celebration had to be held more or less in camera—entrance by ticket only to carefully screened guests. Unfortunately for the inhabitants of Zwickau, the American troops who had fought their way in had to withdraw and make way for the Russians on the basis of the Yalta Agreement. For the civilian population the change-over was disastrous, and there was very good reason for holding the thanksgiving in the absence of the general public.

Yes-Men are Rewarded Liberally

Developments during the past fifteen years in the Soviet Union have led to the formation of a new upper crust or stratum of political and economic leaders, army officers, scientists, technicians and artists who are privileged in every way as compared with the masses of ordinary people. This upper section, or new ruling class, maintains its privileges with the assistance of the Russian Secret Police. Wherever the Red Army penetrated as a result of the war the occupation authorities busied themselves with the building up of a system as much like the Russian as possible. This was true of the Eastern Zone in Germany, though naturally the special conditions existing there involved certain adaptations and deviations from the original model. In the Soviet Union the Bolshevist Party is the real ruler of the State, and its highest offices are open only to members of the party, but in the Eastern Zone the situation is different: the "Unity" Party is completely subordinate to the occupation authorities, and they distrust all foreigners. As far as the German authorities are concerned, however, the situation of the "Unity" Party is very similar to that of the Bolshevist Party in the Soviet Union. However, the acute lack of suitable personnel in the ranks of the Communist Party has made it necessary to employ people who are members of other parties, or who, at least, are not Communists. But Communist candidates for all posts are being hurriedly, even feverishly trained, so that one day it will be possible to get rid of all those non-Communists who still hold office, and they are already being replaced in increasing numbers by "reliable men". Above all, the Communists are anxious to get rid of former Social Democrats. But the relations between the "Unity" Party and the two bourgeois parties are also growing more and more hostile, and it is only a question of time before they, too, are thrown overboard as "banner bearers of the Reaction". Appointments to more important administrative posts in the Eastern Zone must first be approved by the Russians, and in this respect, owing to their ignorance of conditions and personalities, they have to rely on their agents in the "Unity" Party. In consequence, Ulbricht and his friends control all important appointments.

In accordance with the Russian model, the privileged élite in the Eastern Zone occupy a position far above the ordinary masses of the people. There is a complicated hierarchy of privilege in respect of living accommodation, food supplies and clothing. Russian officers and Russian civilian personnel represent the topmost peak of the economic pinnacle in the Eastern Zone, and they live in real luxury. Then comes the German personnel of the occupation authorities, and, approximately on a level with them, the leaders of the "Unity" Party and the highest officials of the State. These latter hold first-class

ration-cards, and, in addition, they receive numerous supplementary distributions, and what are known as "Stalin Parcels", which contain meat, butter, cigarettes and other things which are in particularly short supply. In addition, their income tax is returned to them in the form of a "premium". Higher State officials and party leaders also have their own cars. All party employees receive a generous mid-day meal without coupons and various supplementary food supplies.

The best example of privileged housing conditions for the right people can be seen in Dresden-Neustadt in the Meisenberg district, where there is a "model" living quarter for leading Communist officials and high Civil Servants. A whole district of villas has been cleared of its previous inhabitants and surrounded by a high wall, and barriers, guarded day and night by armed police, have been erected at all roads leading in to it. But the privileged few who live in this and similar "settlements" are themselves nothing but slaves and prisoners. What they enjoy beyond their less fortunate fellows they enjoy solely because they are utterly subservient to those who grant them their privileges.

However, the system of bribery extends beyond these privileged groups and operates on a much broader scale; for instance, the "Unity" Party and its phoney "non-party" auxiliary organizations receive various allocations of goods for distribution from time to time, including foodstuffs, clothing, footwear, underwear and shirts, watches, fuel, household goods and schnapps, which is less scarce under Russian control than most other things. The Free German Trade Union Federation is particularly active in this respect. Instead of representing the interests of the working man against the pressure of Soviet and other managements, it is turning itself into a distributive agency. For instance, it even conducts negotiations for the exchange of industrial goods for agricultural products. In Dresden and Chemnitz 65 per cent of all commodities for which points or coupons have to be surrendered are now being distributed by the Free German Trade Unions and their "People's Control Committees". The industrial workers are given the requisite coupons, and these are then exchanged at the local Co-operative Retail Stores, which are rapidly becoming powerful economic factors by "the affiliation of industrial staffs". It was, naturally, quite by chance that the distribution of much-sought-after goods by the Free German Trade Unions began just before the elections in the federation. It is easy to see how this new system of distributing foodstuffs and manufactured goods through the "Unity" party and its auxiliary organizations strengthens their political power and influence.

The corrupt system of special allotments as practised in the Soviet Union has meant that the few goods available have not been dis-

tributed through normal channels on the principle of fair shares for all, but through all sorts of side channels to specially privileged groups, and as the recipients have to take what they get and be satisfied with it, there is no control whatever on quality. Thus those who are responsible have no interest at all in improving the quality of the goods produced, but every interest in the mass production of inferior goods in order to win production premiums. In the last resort such a system is unfavourable all along the line, economically, politically and morally. It has been proved so up to the hilt in the Soviet Union, and now it is being proved so again in the Eastern Zone.

Political Intimidation

Bolshevist political methods are fundamentally the same as those used by Nazis and Fascists generally: demagogy, terrorization, fraud and intimidation. The "Unity" Party has everything it needs for its propaganda: finance, large quantities of paper and all other materials, the support of the State apparatus, including the police, the wireless, the bookshops and the libraries. The Communist Party in the Western Zone is also liberally supported financially and in other ways. Naturally, the money necessary for such a powerful organization does not come from the membership subscriptions, and the "Unity" Party is heavily subsidized by the Russian authorities.

In the rural districts the general feeling is very bitter, and that applies both to the "Old" peasants and the "New", who are supposed to be the political basis of the "Unity" Party in the country. The chief reason for this bitterness is that the peasants are being compelled to surrender their entire harvest, and although Russian officers have constantly promised that they would receive bread, seed-corn and fodder for their beasts, these promises have not been kept. Peasants who try to avoid surrendering all their harvest are threatened with deportation to Siberia—and it is no idle threat. As the "Unity" Party works hand in glove with the Russian occupation authorities, it is the focus of the general embitterment and anger. In an attempt to whitewash the party and turn the resentment of the peasants in a wrong direction, the "Unity" Party leaders, Dahlem and Gniffke, proposed in a meeting of the "Unity" Party Fraction of the Mecklenburg Diet, to which the two belong, that a few Landraete should be arrested and a campaign started up to present them as the ones really responsible for the ruthless pressure exerted on the peasants.

Intimidation and trickery go hand in hand. In many factories and offices only members of the "Unity" Party are employed. It often happens that leaders of departments or foremen announce: "Whoever's not in the party by such and such a date will be sacked". It is

exactly the same system as was in vogue under Hitler. It is also a noteworthy fact that members of the Social Democratic Party and non-Communist candidates generally usually fail at the examinations for the police force in the Eastern Sector, but if the unsuccessful candidates join the "Unity" Party and try again, they are suddenly successful. Candidates coming up for examination in the postal service find themselves faced with questions about Marxism and the revolutionary movement. The Railway Police are now recruited exclusively from the ranks of the "Unity" Party. The same methods are in operation in the recruitment of officials for the various central administrations of the Eastern Zone. Personal records of officials employed by the Central Administration for Trade and Supplies have been found to contain notes such as: "Thinks more of Schumacher than of Pieck"; "A Reactionary, but needed for the moment", and so on. It has happened on more than one occasion that officials of this Central Administration have been kidnapped on leaving their houses by men in motor-cars and carried off never to be heard of again. The sinister nature of these personnel files is becoming increasingly clear to all concerned.

Intimidation is exercised everywhere to force young people into the Free German Youth, the worthy successor of the Hitler Youth, which also marches in military columns to the sound of trumpets and drums and under red flags—except that the Soviet Star has taken the place of the Hakenkreuz. No peasant can carry on at all unless he obeys the instructions of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association—one of the many "non-party" auxiliaries of the "Unity" Party. No artist has the faintest hope of being able to exhibit unless he belongs to the League of Culture. No doctor can attend panel patients unless he is a member of the doctors' section of the Free German Trade Union Federation. All employees of the public health services must similarly be members of their section of the federation. Those who take up jurisprudence and teaching are all "strongly advised" that if they want to make a success of their future careers they should join "an anti-Fascist party", and they are left in no doubt as to which is the right "anti-Fascist party". The same system is being extended to all trades, professions and occupations—even Kindergarten teachers have now been roped in—all over the Eastern Zone. "No membership card of the Socialist Unity Party; no job" is the principle.

The Bauschule in Magdeburg was informed that unless at least 40 per cent of its pupils were members of the "Unity" Party the school would be closed; and in Saxony everyone who applies for a licence to trade is asked whether he is a member of the "Unity" Party. If he answers in the negative his application will stay "on the files" for a very long time. Traders already holding a licence are

"strongly advised" to join the "Unity" Party "in their own interests"; and once a man joins the "Unity" Party he cannot resign from it with impunity, as witness the case of a wounded ex-soldier named Karl W., who became a "New" peasant in Adelsdorf, in the Markkleeberg district. He had trouble with the party, and resigned his membership, whereupon he was evicted from his holding as "no longer politically reliable".

Naturally, a party whose members are herded together in this fashion is not altogether a happy or effective institution, and there are constant internal complaints from officials concerning "the penetration of the party by Trotzkyite and other hostile elements", the lack of interest in the affairs of the party, the poor attendance at party meetings, and so on. At a "Sport Day of German Youth" in the Magdeburg Stadion, Eberhard, the Lord Mayor of Magdeburg, who addressed the audience on the aims and objects of the "Unity" Party, got such a hostile reception of whistling, cat-calling and jeers, that he was unable to finish his speech.

A big campaign of meetings run by the party was attended by 100,000 persons in all, though the party has two million members on paper. Even the strict control of attendance does not help much, apparently. Listen to Pieck himself:

> "Even in our own ranks there are pessimists and cowards who look at the Soviet Union with a jaundiced eye. And our propaganda meetings suffer from the drumfire of the Berlin reaction and the reptiles of the press."

The real cause of all the disinterest and hostility is the flagrant contradiction between the slogans of the party and the facts of daily life. The party announces that measures are to be taken to raise the standard of living, but things get worse instead of better, owing to the enormous burden imposed on the economy of the Eastern Zone by the costs of the occupation and by the insatiable reparations demands of the Soviet Union. The party calls for harder work and higher production to improve the economic situation, and then a new wave of dismantling makes nonsense of the appeal. The party calls for uniform wage agreements, but the workers vigorously oppose the idea because in very many cases private employers pay better than the Soviet concerns and the nationalized undertakings. And finally, the chasm between the pro-Soviet propaganda of the "Unity" Party and the brutal and ruthless behaviour of the Russian troops is unbridgeable. On every hand "Unity" Party theory is made ridiculous in practise.

Thus it is not surprising that the party has many enemies in its own ranks. When these opponents get an opportunity of expressing

their real feelings without danger, they gladly take it. For instance, the "Unity" Party has over 1,000 registered members amongst the students of Leipzig University, but when the elections to the Students Council took place its candidates polled only 600 votes, whilst the candidates of the Liberal Democratic Party, which has only 350 members, polled 570 votes, and the candidates of the Christian Democratic Union, which has only 320 members, polled 670 votes. After that the "Unity" Party changed the voting system: the Free German Trade Union Federation's indirect system of voting was adopted as "a democratic achievement" in place of the old direct method, but even this failed to bring about the desired result and the "Unity" Party's list still polled only a minority of the votes.

From the beginning the "Unity" Party leaders have played ducks and drakes with the once-popular demand for anti-Fascist unity. All the prestige they once enjoyed has been dissipated. The masses no longer trust them, though millions are forced into their ranks. The agreement that the former Social Democrats should have parity of representation on all the leading bodies of the party was never meant seriously, and it has never been honoured, and from the beginning the former members of the Communist Party have been organized as a homogeneous fraction in the "Unity" Party.

The "Unity" party undermines the Socialist tradition of freedom in every possible way, and at the same time it has shown the greatest consideration and understanding for former Nazis. For instance, the leading "Unity" Party paper in "Model" Saxony writes that former members of the Nazi Party must be judged not by their career in the party, but by their attitude since 1945. The Chairman of the "Unity" Party in Thuringia, Heinrich Hoffmann, is even plainer. He declares that the former members of the Nazi Party must document their breach with the past by joining the "Unity" Party. That they are doing so in large numbers is therefore not surprising. As the Leipzig District Committee of the "Unity" Party pointed out on May 28th, 1947: "We urgently need the ordinary members of the Nazi Party to ensure us a majority. Whichever of them takes part zealously in the training evenings and adopts our bolshevist ideology as his own should be regarded as a valuable candidate for membership of our party."

So much for anti-Fascist unity along bolshevist lines. The "Unity" Party is not out to educate upright Socialists and Democrats, but to crush all liberal and democratic opinion. "S.E.D." are the initials of the Socialist Unity Party. For the ordinary man in the street it has come to mean "*Stalins Ergebener Diener*", or Stalin's Devoted Servants. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is a mockery both of socialist and German unity.

CHAPTER II

THE COLLAPSE OF LAW

THE DEVELOPMENT of law and the administration of justice in Western Europe since the days of the English Magna Carta have tended in the same general direction—namely, the protection of the individual citizen against arbitrary injustice on the part of the authorities set over him. The healthy principle of the division of authority has come about to reinforce this general tendency and to establish a proper balance in the functions of authority. In the modern civilized State, legislative, executive and juridical powers are strictly separated. In particular, the independence of the judiciary, whose functions are exercised by judges subject to no higher authority than that of their own consciences, has come to be regarded as an essential principle of all civilized communities. The individual citizen was protected against all arbitrary abuses of power by a system of legal standards operating only from the moment of their lawful promulgation, and without retrospective effect, clearly laying down the rights and duties of the individual. Perhaps the purity of these essential principles was sometimes sullied in historical practice by class prejudices and class interests, and by inevitable human inadequacies, but nevertheless their unqualified recognition by all civilized States represented a real triumph of human social progress.

With the crisis of Western culture which began with the First World War, and has not yet passed its peak, the whole edifice of civilized conceptions of justice was shaken. In the totalitarian systems with which the world has since made acquaintance the individual, in so far as he is not a member of the "élite" in power, is nothing but a unit in a mass. His interests are as nothing against the interests of the Leviathan State exclusively controlled by a single political party led by a small group of leaders, granting the right to exist only to its followers, merely tolerating the indifferent and brutally persecuting its opponents. The judiciary in a one-party State has nothing whatever to do with justice; it is an instrument of political power, and its object is to establish the personal will of irresponsible rulers whilst giving it an appearance of justice and legal validity.

Party Politics and the Judiciary

Just as in a fascist State, the administration of justice under the bolshevist regime is governed by the interests of a ruling clique. In the Soviet Union justice is an instrument for the achievement of political ends, and now that the Moscow rulers consider they have the right, or at least the power, to "bolshevize" all the territories which have fallen to them in one way or the other as a result of the recent war, the administration of justice in the Eastern Zone is degraded to a tool in the hands of the Russian occupation authorities.

Judges appointed by the Russians immediately after the German collapse—men like Fandrich and Buettner, whose acquaintance we shall make later on—generally proved themselves unsuitable and compromising, and therefore the occupation authorities tried a different method. The existing courts have been maintained in principle, though here and there their venue has been shifted and a certain amount of amalgamation has taken place, but the old Reich's Supreme Court has disappeared now that its territorial basis no longer exists. However, the personnel of the existing courts has been greatly changed in two respects: first of all, such judges as were known or regarded as "Fascist and Reactionary" were dismissed wholesale, in so far as they had not already fled before the advancing Russians, and the resultant great gaps were hurriedly filled up with an entirely new body of recruits. The dismissal of the old judges and officials of the judiciary, including even subordinate employees holding no responsibility, has often been carried out vengefully and without discretion or consideration. For instance, a blind typist employed for many years at the High Court in Plauen was dismissed because her parents, without her knowledge and consent, had put her name down as a candidate for membership of the Nazi Party. This was done at the instructions of the Provincial Legal Administration in Dresden, although the Central Legal Administration in Berlin had informed the staunch "Unity" Party officials responsible that the Central Soviet Military Authority raised no objection to the woman's continued employment. There have been many personal tragedies of this kind, because dismissal means economic ruin, as a person dismissed in such a fashion is unable to obtain employment elsewhere. For instance, a Saxon jurist, in his heart an opponent of the Nazi regime and unwilling to become a member of the Nazi Party, managed to obtain his transfer to the military legal administration because in the beginning it was not necessary for persons attached to this body to be members of the party. However, later on that changed, as the Nazis tightened up and extended their control, and the man was therefore faced with the choice of becoming a formal member of the party or suffering

economic ruin. Still against his will, he gave way. His political passivity as a member of the party caused him a great deal of trouble, and he incurred the disapproval of the Nazi powers. There were, of course, many such "must" Nazis—men who were not Nazis at all, but who were forced to take the party card to avoid ruin for themselves and their families. All these facts were quite well known to the officials of the "Unity" Party, but nevertheless the judge in question had incurred their displeasure—probably because he was no more likely to be their enthusiastic tool than he had been a tool of the Nazis—and he was dismissed.

The "purge" carried out by the "Unity" Party in the legal administration has had devastating consequences, for in many places up to 90 per cent of the judges and officials were, nominally at least, members of the Nazi Party, and as this debars them from service under the new regime, the administration was practically denuded of men with legal knowledge and training. In the Mark Brandenburg, for instance, although every possible likely person with legal knowledge was called upon, only 147 judges and prosecutors could be mobilized instead of the 300 required. And in the "model" Red State of Saxony only 170 judges and prosecutors were left out of about 1,000. By May 1947, 116 "synthetic" jurists were added to the number. These men had been hurriedly trained in short courses, and their knowledge was small and their experience nil. The lack of personnel was made all the more acute by a tidal wave of marital and criminal cases, many of which had been held up during the war, with the result that judges were terribly overworked. A further 500 were needed in Saxony alone, but where were they to come from? The normal source of recruitment from the Bar was cut down to a mere trickle owing to the fact that almost all young barristers had been members of the Nazi Party—"must" members, many of them —and had therefore been dismissed as unsuitable for employment under the new regime. For instance, there was not a single young barrister-candidate left in any of the courts of a big town like Chemnitz. Where there are such men they are usually only tolerated by the new powers. In Mecklenburg the examinations have been constantly postponed despite the urgent need, because, of all the candidates, only one belonged to the "Unity" Party; the others were all members of the Christian Democratic Union or the Liberal Democratic Party, or members of no party at all. Recognizing that academically trained recruits were not desired in the judiciary of the Eastern Zone, all the students of law at Rostock University abandoned their studies in a body and migrated to the Western Zone to continue them in a more suitable atmosphere.

In order to help fill up the gaps, the authorities have begun to dig

old judges out of their retirement, provided that they were not members of the Nazi Party, but irrespective of whether they were known to hold progressive views. Judges well past the normal human span are now common on the benches in the Eastern Zone. The younger ones are far from vigorous, for their pay is low and they are entitled to Ration Scale III only, which means that they are undernourished. Most of the judges still come from the ranks of the "possessing bourgeoisie", as Frau Benjamin, Personnel Referent of the Central Legal Administration, regretfully puts it, though there is precious little left of their possessions. Only about one quarter have the right party-book in their pockets, though whether their membership is any more honest than the former membership of many jurists in the Nazi Party is doubtful; about one half call themselves non-party, and the remaining quarter are divided between the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party.

The corps of public prosecutors is now a happy hunting-ground for Communists, very few of whom have had any legal training or experience. In Schwerin, for instance, only one of the public prosecutors is a trained jurist. The Chief Public Prosecutor was a builder by trade. The Examining Magistrate was formerly a policeman. Five public prosecutors have had no previous legal training whatever. The judge dealing with summary cases was formerly a cigar merchant. The "Unity" Party majority of the Schwerin Diet are not greatly disturbed by this state of affairs, and, against the votes of the two bourgeois block parties, a motion was carried to the effect that non-jurists may occupy the positions of Attorney-General and President of the Supreme Court after five years "experience in political, social and public life".

In the opinion of the Russian occupation authorities, and therefore also of their tools in the "Unity" Party, the best solution for all the troubles of the judiciary in the Eastern Zone is the appointment of so-called "People's Judges" trained in short courses. Improvised "judges" such as Buettner and Fandrich have proved on the whole too embarrassing, whilst subordinate officials who have been promoted wholesale to be judges and prosecutors are not altogether to the taste of the new masters, because they served under the old. Practising lawyers are being called upon to fill the gaps. They are appointed as temporary judges, either whole-time or part-time, but, even so, it is not sufficient to meet the great demand. In addition, most of them are very unwilling to serve in this capacity because their normal practice is much more lucrative. Further, it is not at all desirable that a man should appear in the same court sometimes as a judge and sometimes as an advocate. It will be years before the new law students who are now taking university courses are ready to fill

the breach, and how many of them will be "politically reliable" when they do is an open question. All that remains, therefore, is the high-speed sausage machine which turns laymen into "People's Judges" in the twinkling of an eye.

By February 1947 about 100 such "express jurists", as they are popularly called, were appointed as judges and prosecutors. Their educational background is very varied. Out of thirty participants in one of these rapid courses only seven had taken their matric, seven others had attended high school without taking their matric, twelve had ordinary elementary-school education, and four had "attended evening classes". The majority of these candidates failed to pass their exam at the end of the course. The three "Block" parties all put forward candidates for these courses, and so far they have shown very little discretion in their choice; as long as a man holds a party-book and expresses a desire to take the course, that has been enough, irrespective of whether he is capable or at all suitable for the legal profession. The officials of the "Unity" Party in particular show a total lack of understanding for the requirements of the judiciary, and it is from the ranks of this party that most of the "express jurists" come. For instance, out of thirty-nine candidates who took part in a course which began in March 1947 in Saxe-Anhalt, thirty-one were members of the "Unity" Party, four were members of the Christian Democratic Union, two were members of the Liberal Democratic Party, and two declared themselves non-party.

It often happens that men who would be quite suitable for the legal profession refuse to take the courses because the salary and working conditions are insufficiently attractive. All in all, such candidates as do attend the courses represent anything but an élite. Even men with criminal convictions on their record were discovered amongst the would-be judges and prosecutors, and they had then to be excluded. Others had such a low level of general education that they were utterly impossible. A further group consisted of men whose characters were far from reputable. But the greater part of all the candidates proved themselves of insufficient intelligence and were unable to complete the course successfully, though the standards are by no means high. Quite a number of the candidates declared that they would never have started the course at all if they had realized all the things they would be expected to learn. In short, the proportion of "rejects" when the examinations came along, and even before, was very high. As many of those who managed to get as far as the examination then had to be ploughed, the final result was numerically very disappointing. The successful candidates were, of course, very inadequately trained, for even capable and talented students cannot amass a very great of knowledge on the wide field of

jurisprudence in eight months. And later on there is very little opportunity for them to increase their knowledge by part-time study, because the shortage of judges and prosecutors is so acute that once they are in office they are occupied to the full.

However, despite all these unfavourable conditions, the achievements here and there have not been bad. On the comparatively limited field of criminal law administration, intelligent men with a knowledge of human nature and some experience of life coming fresh to the work soon shake down fairly reasonably, but the much wider and more complicated field of common law and equity is another matter altogether. Many of the newly-fledged judges are prepared to admit quite frankly that whenever they have to hear a case which requires systematized knowledge they feel themselves quite out of their depth. The uncertainty and lack of confidence of the "People's Judges" involve the danger that the conscientious ones will stick to the letter of the law, come what may, and soon fall into a legalist routine, whilst the less conscientious ones will shake judgments out of their sleeves and reveal their inadequacies even more plainly. The limited experience to date has already shown this to be the case. In the Schwerin Courts appeals were lodged in no fewer than 80 per cent of the cases judged by these new "People's Judges", and in a very high proportion of cases the Court of Appeal reversed the judgments. In particular, sentences imposed by these amateur judges have often to be considerably reduced, for the new brooms have a tendency to sweep clean, and on the whole they are severe. They are also inclined to issue arrest warrants too freely. The deterioration in the administration of justice brought about by the dismissal of trained jurists and the appointment of semi-trained personnel has become so obvious that the Potsdam Diet unanimously passed a law making it possible in future to quash legally valid judgments when the judgment itself is based on an infringement of law or when the sentence imposed is clearly excessive. In speaking on behalf of the Bill, the Minister of Justice admitted frankly that owing to the lack of trained personnel for the administration of justice many erroneous verdicts were being recorded, and that there must henceforth be a possibility of correcting flagrant cases.

The Thuringian Minister of Justice, Dr. Kuelz, has cautiously expressed his opinion that to date the experiences with the "People's Judges" have been "middling". The introduction of these amateur judges has done something to meet the numerical demand for new judges, but the reinforcements obtained in this way have been of a very doubtful nature, and the proper administration of justice has undoubtedly suffered. However, the Central Soviet Military Authority in Karlhorst is quite satisfied with the new departure, and its legal

administration, alarmed by the great falling off in the number of candidates, issued a peremptory order in April 1947:

"1. In future no one is to be excluded from the courses for People's Judgeship because he is unable to follow the teaching.

"2. In such cases special supplementary teaching must be provided.

"3. If a candidate nevertheless abandons a course, then he must not be permitted to take any other work, but must be employed in some capacity or other in the judicial apparatus;

"4. The Central Soviet Military Authority is to be given detailed information concerning every candidate excluded from such courses, including educational level, social origin, party membership and reason for exclusion."

Clearly, all the Russian occupation authorities are interested in is the "bolshevization" of justice, and they are determined that nothing shall be wasted in the process. In any case, things are going much too slowly for them. At the present rate of progress it will be years before the "bolshevization" is completed. In September 1947, therefore, they issued instructions that the number of candidates taking part in the courses should be increased three-fold. At the same time the length of the courses was extended to a year, because experience had shown that even the successful candidates were inadequately trained. Naturally, although twelve months is better than eight, it is still insufficient time for any candidate to obtain a thorough grounding in jurisprudence. However, that is not the main object aimed at; what the Russians want is a sufficiency of officials who will anxiously look to them for orders and cringe as soon as they see a frown on the face of a Russian officer. As the position of prosecutor is politically important, the newly trained men are appointed as prosecutors in great numbers, no doubt in the hope that budding Vishinskys are in their ranks. The bolshevist authorities have much less interest for civil causes.

A letter of the Central Committee of the Thuringian "Unity" Party in Weimar to the *Thüringer Volk* throws an interesting light on the aims pursued with these juridical innovations:

"The Socialist Unity Party is not even approximately represented in the juridical apparatus in accordance with its size and importance. Only about eleven per cent of the judges belong to the party. . . . To-day it is one of the most important tasks of the democratic parties, and in particular of the Socialist Unity Party, to see to it that new democratic judges and prosecutors are trained. We need new, politically-clear-thinking men from the working-

class movement on the bench as judges and in court as public prosecutors."

The Minister of Justice in the Brandenburg Government reinforces the same views in a circular addressed to all employees and officials of the legal administration, calling upon them to join the Free German Trade Union and to organize themselves politically—in the "Unity" Party, of course:

"Whoever shows himself politically disinterested and refuses to join the trade union or the anti-fascist parties must not be surprised if the totality of the working people come to regard him in the end as superfluous in the new construction of democratic justice."

The new "People's Judges" who came off the moving band in Brandenburg were welcomed with a speech of greetings and "instructions" by the Minister of the Interior, Bernard Bechler, an ex-officer of the German Army and a "re-educated" member of the "Free German Committee" set up by the Russian Government during the war, who exhorted them to judge politically in the interests of "fighting democracy".

"Fighting democracy", "popular democracy", the bolshevist "New Democratic Order"—whatever the camouflage used, it is all the same thing, and it needs "progressive" "politicalized" judges and prosecutors. This is the point at issue. The new rulers of Eastern Germany want a judicial administration which has nothing to do with "justice", an administration which is completely imbued with "bolshevist ideology" and unconditionally prepared to obey without question any instructions the new "democratic" rulers care to give it.

"*Show*" *Trials*

The shortage of judges of any kind is acute. Dr. Huebener, the Prime Minister of Saxe-Anhalt, was perfectly serious when he warned his listeners that there was a great danger that the whole system of judicial administration would collapse entirely owing to the enormous amount of strain being placed on it. However, his recommendation that "nominal members of the former Nazi Party"—the "must" Nazis—should be admitted to the Bench in civil causes in order to help out the administration was peremptorily rejected by the Central Soviet Military Authority, whose Legal Department demanded an even stricter "purge" of lawyers admitted to practise at the courts, on the ground that they were "a bulwark of the Reaction". "Justice must prevail if the world goes under", was an old axiom of former days, but the Bolshevists have altered all that: justice can go under unless it does just what we want it to.

Justice—or rather the administration of something still called justice—is being harnessed to the bolshevist political band-wagon. An innovation taken from the legal practice of the Soviet Union is the staging of so-called "show" trials for political purposes in the Eastern Zone. Generally speaking, newspapers in the Soviet Union do not report law cases, for it would be dangerous to do so, as indicating the rapid growth of criminality in the bolshevist paradise, but in certain cases, usually of a political nature, the authorities stage one of these show trials, and then the Press is present in force, and the whole proceedings are trumpeted out to the world. The aim of such show trials is not manifestly to do justice, but to establish a deterrent example and to distract the attention of the masses of the populace from the abuses inevitably connected with an evil system.

The typical characteristics of the show trial can be easily seen in a case which took place in the autumn of 1945 in Magdeburg and attracted widespread attention. The background of the proceedings was as follows. At the corner of the Halberstadt and Leipzigerstrasse in Magdeburg, near to the Police Presidium, a lorry driven by a German collided with a private car in which the Russian Town Commandant, General Gusev, was riding. The collision was not serious. No one was injured, and the General's car suffered only dents and scratches on the paint-work. The "Hero of the Soviet Union" got away with the shock. Not so the unfortunate German lorry-driver. He was dragged out of the driving-seat by irate Russians and hauled off into a near-by cinema, where the performance was stopped and the Russians proceeded to stage a show "trial" of the criminal on the spot. Even the Russian prosecutor, hurriedly summoned, had to admit that the lorry-driver had the right of way, and that when the General's car suddenly appeared, travelling at high speed, he had had no time to apply his brakes sufficiently to avoid the collision. However, in accordance with the traffic regulations issued by the Russian occupation authorities, all vehicles must give way at once to cars of the occupying force, and therefore the Russian prosecutor, a Major, demanded a sentence of ten years penitential labour. The collegium of "judges" withdrew to consider their "verdict", and when they returned they pronounced the lorry-driver guilty and sentenced him as the prosecutor requested. In order to discover what effect this example of "swift Russian justice" had had on the German audience, the "President" of the court invited those present to give their views. The invitation produced such a storm of indignation that Russian troops immediately cleared the hall.

What cases are brought into the spotlight of such show trials depends exclusively on the practical considerations of the moment.

The victims are just unlucky. They are taken as "an example", often under the pressure of artificially stoked-up indignation. Very often sentences which are not sufficiently severe for the taste of the occupying authorities or their "Unity" Party hangers-on are made the subject of "public agitation". The "Anti-Fascist Block" calls indignation meetings, the trade unions and the various auxiliary organizations join in, and soon there is a great howl under way in favour of a re-trial and a more severe sentence, on the ground that "the healthy feelings of the people" (incidentally a heritage from Nazi days) cannot understand how the courts can pass such ridiculously light sentences on "enemies of the people".

The same sort of thing took place at the time of the famous "milk-and-meat" action organized to put pressure on the peasants to make them fulfil their delivery quotas. But often the peasants were unable to do so with the best will in the world. The "plan" is rigid. Once the quotas have been fixed they must be delivered, even if in the meantime the peasant loses half his cattle by a murrain. Peasants who could not fulfil their quotas on this occasion were heavily fined at the orders of the local Russian commander. Sometimes small villages in arrears had to pay fines amounting to 50,000 marks, an intolerable burden in view of the acute shortage of cash in the rural districts.

Sometimes these show trials reveal things they are not intended to reveal. For instance, the head of the Erfurt Food Office was brought to trial charged with serious irregularities. As the process seemed to offer a splendid opportunity of persuading the public that its sufferings were due to individual corruption, and not, of course, to the regime instituted by their Liberators, the trial was turned into a gala day. Representatives of the parties, the unions and the factory councils were all present to have demonstrated before their eyes how it came about that the people's food did not reach them regularly and in sufficient quantities as desired by the benevolent Russians.

Unfortunately the sacrificial lamb turned out to have teeth and claws, and he refused to play the role of scapegoat. He proved that the vanished foodstuffs which were the basis of the charge against him had been ordered by the Ministry of Trade and Supplies for a banquet given to high Government officials and party leaders in Weimar, and thus the day was spoilt, especially as there were quite a number of people in the audience who had been present at the banquet.

Similarly, "the healthy feelings of the people" do not always express themselves in the way desired by the authorities, particularly at show trials ordered by the Russian occupation authorities. This was the case during three successive show trials organized, but badly organized, in a chemical works in Torgau to impress on the workers

the heinousness of absenteeism. The workers were compelled to sacrifice three of their evenings to be present at the "trials", and they were far from impressed, especially as the jury had been appointed, in defiance of all legal provisions, by the occupation authorities—just to make quite certain.

A similar failure occurred in Magdeburg. The Russian officer in charge of the dismantling of the Brabag Works instructed Police President Wallraff and Public Prosecutor Alexander, two well-known names in the scandalous chronicle of Saxe-Anhalt's bolshevist officialdom, to organize a show trial in double-quick time in order to put a stop to widespread absenteeism which, he declared, was hampering the dismantling work. The obliging pair fell over each other to organize the trial, and the hearing was fixed to take place in the great hall of the works in Rothensee on January 31st, 1947. The accused were "directed" men, including a number of peasants who had lost their holdings and been sent to take part in the dismantling. From the dock they defended themselves by making revelations concerning the conditions under which they were quartered: bare barns unheated in the depths of winter, no mattresses, not even straw sacks, and no blankets, poor-quality food and little of it, and, on top of it all, ruthless slave-driving. When the President of the Court, Voigt, tried to put a stop to this disagreeable evidence something like a riot took place amongst the workers gathered in the vast hall, and there was a storm of booing, whistling and cat-calling. Order was restored with some difficulty, and the criminals received their deserts, but the propaganda effect of the trial was not at all what its wire-pullers intended.

The "scandal" caused much fluttering in the legal dovecotes, and reports flew here and there. In his report to the Central Soviet Military Authority, the Public Prosecutor Alexander declared that it was all due to the secret machinations of Nazi groups, but the representative of the Central Legal Administration in Berlin charged with the investigation of the embarrassing affair observed dryly in his report that "when things go wrong Public Prosecutor Alexander is rather inclined to put down the responsibility to the conspirative activities of alleged enemies of the people". But perhaps the most significant observation was that contained in the report of the President of the Court, Judge Voigt:

> "Through his interpreter it was pointed out to the Commandant that it was perhaps undesirable to hold legal proceedings outside the normal court buildings in places where there can be, by the very nature of the case, only inadequate police supervision of the general public, in view of the damage that might be done to

the reputation of the Socialist Unity Party and the occupation authorities."

In other words, these show trials sometimes cut the wrong way. A "confidential report" points out:

"To have called in the police or Russian troops would merely have added fuel to the fire. In view of the fact that reports may come into the British newspapers, the greatest possible caution is necessary in the preparation of such trials. The Socialist Unity Party in Magdeburg fears that this trial was not prepared with sufficient care."

When the affair came to the notice of Lieutenant-Colonel Yakupov in Karlshorst, his first reaction was that he had to do with a clear case of legal sabotage. Sabotage is the first thing that comes to the minds of Russian luminaries immediately anything goes wrong. A stinging rebuke was at once administered to the Central Legal Administration in Berlin for permitting such disagreeable things to happen, and it was instructed to send a responsible representative to Magdeburg immediately to conduct investigations on the spot. At the same time Major Nikolaiev of the Central Soviet Military Authority was also sent to Magdeburg to keep his eye on the representative of the Central Legal Administration. But the upshot of all the bother was the conclusion that the show trial had been badly prepared; owing to the insistence of the local Russian Commandant that it should take place quickly, there had been no time to organize things smoothly. But the most trenchant and appropriate comment was made by a clear-sighted Russian officer who declared: "You can't expect a show trial in a concentration camp to meet with much propagandist success."

Not all the Russians are as understanding as that, and at their insistence a show trial was even held in a hospital for women suffering from venereal disease and accused of having infected Russian officers.

A particularly choice show trial was that of a black marketeer in Meerane in "model" Saxony. The Public Prosecutor's Department at Glauchau sent out the following printed "invitations" to the trial:

"Meerane, February 12th, 1947.

"You are hereby invited to attend the hearing of the prosecution of Herbert Hoy and two others who are charged with joint economic conspiracy before the Meerane court. The hearing will take place in the hall of the Capitol Cinema in the Poststrasse beginning at 10 a.m. prompt.

"Balcony. Row No..... Seat No.....
"This invitation serves as an entrance card."

The subsequent report of the case announces that "the main hearing" was accompanied by the showing of films "of a suitable nature". It does not mention whether there was musical accompaniment.

Special Courts

"People's Judges" trained on the moving-band principle and "show trials" are not the only methods by which the traditions of the German courts are undermined in the "New Democracy". The "Will of the People" as understood by the bolshevist rulers on the Eastern Zone is being brought to bear more and more through the institution of "Special Courts". All governments in the Eastern Zone, and even subordinate authorities down to municipalities, and including trade unions, are setting up their own "Special Courts", many of them with a very doubtful legal basis.

"In order to relieve the congestion at the ordinary courts", as it puts it, the Government of Saxe-Anhalt has empowered its administration to impose fines up to 100,000 marks, close down firms and withdraw licences to trade in cases where firms are found to have engaged in illegal barter arrangements.

In the Oschatz district, "Mobile peasant courts" have been sent into the rural areas, consisting of representatives of the Free German Trade Unions, the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association and the courts. Their task is to deliberate on charges of failure to fulfil delivery obligations with malice aforethought, the making of false returns for cattle and other livestock, illegal slaughterings, etc. Amongst the various penalties these "Special Courts" can impose is the appointment of a receiver for the holdings of the accused.

At the orders of the Ministry for Labour and Social Welfare, "notorious absentees" can now be ejected from their homes where the latter are the property of their employers. These "Special Courts" are also being introduced into the factories to fight against absenteeism. The "judge" is elected by the workers in a factory meeting, and he is assisted in his task by the chairman of the Works Council and a representative of the trade union. Workers who go sick without obtaining a proper certificate also come under the heading of absentees. At the suggestion of the Free German Trade Unions these factory courts are also to deal with theft, infringements of labour discipline, "gossip and slander"—what the latter means can be readily imagined. The origin of these new factory courts is, of course, the so-called "Courts of Honour" in Soviet factories.

A so-called "People's Judgment" court was established in the

village of Roedgen, near Delitzsch, to try the Mayor for having kept a pig with a local peasant in order to save it from surrender to the authorities. The Mayor was found guilty and bundled out of office.

Red Saxe-Anhalt is again well to the fore in the matter of legal innovations. Seventy "prisoners on parole" are employed in the electro-chemical combine at Bitterfeld (now a Russian concern). They are quartered in a former barracks, and they have to perform the dirtiest and heaviest work. About 600 other prisoners are employed in other factories and works. Certain particularly "noxious" elements, such as spivs, black marketeers and so on, are kept together in a special camp in the Mansfeld district and sent out to work in the copper-ore mines. The ways and means of getting rid of undesirable elements without normal legal procedure, without a trial and without a possibility of defence are inexhaustible in the "New Democracy".

Political Considerations Govern Verdicts

In show trials the main object is to produce a deterrent effect on a propagandist scale. Something of the sort is also aimed at in proceedings in connection with so-called crimes against humanity. By the Control Commission Law No. 10 the old-established legal principle "*nulla poena sine lege*"—that is to say, the principle that no actions may be made the subject of penal proceedings unless they were lawfully punishable at the time they were committed—has been put out of effect for these "crimes against humanity". In view of the shocking atrocities committed by the Nazis before and during the late war, and their blatant violation of a code of morals recognized and upheld by the whole world, the exceptional waiving of this principle in order to deal with these crimes was thoroughly justified, particularly if the Control Commission Law is regarded as the beginning of a new international penal code binding throughout the world and superior to all individual political jurisdiction.

In the Eastern Zone sterilization carried out under the Nazi hereditary laws is regarded as a basis for proceedings under the crimes-against-humanity law. As sterilization for eugenic reasons is recognized as legal by the laws of a number of non-Fascist States, sterilization is a crime against humanity only when it is carried out for reasons of racial hatred or political enmity, in violation of medical provisions or in any other irresponsible fashion. These qualifications, which have been laid down in official instructions issued by the Governments of Thuringia and Mecklenburg, have not always been observed in the Eastern Zone. In the few cases which have come up for trial in the Eastern Zone it has been painfully evident that under bolshevist rule varying considerations are dominant, according to the

circumstances of the moment. Here again the bolshevist principle that law is nothing but a means for the achievement of political ends operates.

At the instigation of the Soviet Military Authority, proceedings were instituted against three doctors in Kottbus for having allegedly taken part in sterilization operations in the Hitler period. Nothing could be proved against these men which would have justified a conviction, and one of the accused in particular, who had formerly been head of the Kottbus Health Services, enjoyed a reputation amongst local Communists as a doctor who had always carried out his medical work with noteworthy humanity.

In these circumstances an acquittal was certain, but the S.M.A. in Kottbus peremptorily demanded that the three accused should be found guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment, and it threatened that if they were acquitted they would immediately be re-arrested by the N.K.V.D. and dealt with by court-martial. This threat put the German judges in a difficult situation. They were well aware that justice demanded the acquittal of the accused; on the other hand, if justice were done, then a very great injustice would follow immediately on its heels: once the three were arrested by the Russians much worse would happen to them. The court therefore found the accused guilty and sentenced them to short terms of imprisonment, which were declared to have been served by the time spent under arrest awaiting trial. The three were then released, and the Russians remained satisfied with their formal conviction.

The sensational development of a trial of a number of doctors in Mecklenburg charged with having conducted or taken part in sterilization operations under the Hitler regime throws much light on the conditions existing in the Eastern Zone. At the beginning of 1946 a number of well-known surgeons and specialists for female ailments were arrested in Ludwigslust and Schwerin, including the former President of the Hereditary Hygiene Court in Schwerin. The Russian military authorities handed the arrested men over to the German judiciary for trial, and in July 1946 they were all acquitted on the grounds that there was no evidence to convict. The day after their release they were all re-arrested by the Russians. At the instance of the Chief Public Prosecutor, Enskat—a building worker by trade, who owes his present legal eminence to the possession of the right party-book—the Court of Appeal in Schwerin quashed the acquittals and referred the case back to the courts for re-trial. A violent campaign against the accused in the "Unity" Press and on the wireless was sufficient to indicate that "influential circles" desired convictions and not acquittals. Cases are never *sub judice* in the

Eastern Zone, which is another achievement the Germans owe to their liberators, and the "Unity" Party organized mass meetings to demand the conviction of the accused.

The re-trial, like the trial, was heard by Judge Lange, the President of the Supreme Court, but this time all concerned had read their briefs better. Several of the accused were found guilty and sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment with hard labour—some to five years and some to ten—whilst all the convicted men were deprived of their property, which, of course, means beggaring their innocent wives and children—another Soviet innovation in Eastern Germany. The summing up declared that they had been proved guilty of continued crimes against humanity, in that they had not paid sufficient attention to the expert reports of the neurologists (who had in the meantime all been arrested, too). The chief evidence against the accused was given by mentally deficient and asocial elements, whose statements were highly dubious. The accused were condemned as conscienceless careerists who had let themselves be misused deliberately for selfish reasons. During the first trial the defence had been given some latitude; in the re-trial it was deliberately hampered at every turn. The general public were again excluded from the court-room, and admission was by ticket only to a carefully screened "public". Everything about the set-up at the re-trial indicated that both judge and public prosecutor were determined to comply with the wishes of the Russians. The summing-up accused the doctors of having kowtowed to the prevailing political trend and abused their professional honour to comply with the illegal wishes of the Nazi authorities. Public opinion in Mecklenburg could hardly fail to observe that this applied just as well to President Lange and the Public Prosecutor.

There was a further appeal, this time on the part of the convicted men, and the convictions and the sentences were quashed on the grounds that during the trial there had been repeated violations of legal procedure against the interests of the accused, and that, in particular, the liberty of the defence had been systematically hampered. The proceedings were again referred back to the ordinary courts, but this time Lange and his friends were in no hurry, and the accused were left in prison awaiting the next stage of the proceedings.

It is very difficult for anyone to see what particular interest the Russian occupation authorities have in insisting, come what may, on convictions in such cases. Is it their intention to divert the attention of the general public in the Eastern Zone from the misery of their regime by staging *causes célèbres* of this sort? If so, they are making a gross psychological miscalculation. For one thing, they are demonstrating very clearly that justice means nothing to them, and that

legal proceedings are mere instruments to the attainment of, often obscure, political ends.

Arbitrary Expropriations

Arbitrary tyranny is the hall-mark of the Russian regime in the Eastern Zone, and it is the same on all fields, in economic matters as well as in jurisprudence. No man can know how he stands from one day to the next. Order No. 124 of the S.M.A.D., referring to expropriations, lays down the conditions under which such proceedings may be instituted, but the practice of the German authorities under the inspiration of the "Unity" Party is quite arbitrary; they expropriate just what undertakings they please, irrespective of whether the conditions laid down by the S.M.A.D. are present or not. Sometimes the authorities are guilty of almost grotesque improprieties. For instance, in Saxony the leather-works of Moritz Stecher, Ltd., in Freiberg were on the list of undertakings to be expropriated, and merely because the surname was the same, the authorities extended the expropriation proceedings to include Moritz Stecher (Arsenical Products), Ltd., in the same town, although the one firm has nothing whatever to do with the other.

The legal conception of "dereliction", which presupposes the will of the original owner or owners to abandon the property in question, is held to be present for the purposes of expropriation proceedings when not all the shareholders live in the town registered as the seat of the undertaking in question. For instance, the works of the Alsace-Baden Wool Co. in Forst were declared liable to expropriation because the shareholders were not domiciled in Forst, and despite the fact that properly accredited representatives of the firm were so domiciled. But the authorities go even farther than that, and they artificially create their own version of "dereliction" by arresting the shareholders of a firm they wish to expropriate or by causing the police to refuse them the right to live in the town in question. The condition of "dereliction" has also been regarded as present where the owner of a firm has temporarily left the Eastern Zone for business reasons, even when the firm continues its business as usual in charge of a properly accredited representative. This was done in the case of a firm of biscuit-makers in Burg, whose owner had journeyed to the Western Zone with perfectly valid papers. In his absence his firm was "expropriated".

Generally speaking, the reasons for expropriation are not revealed to the owners or shareholders concerned. Very often the victims of such proceedings are prevented from defending their interests by being expelled from the district. The "executors" appointed by the authorities then have a clear field to collect, or manufacture, the

requisite evidence to "justify" expropriation. The proceedings themselves are almost completely arbitrary; frequently the defence is not permitted to know the charges against which it has to defend the management; sometimes it is not summoned to attend the proceedings at all; defence witnesses, too, are often not summoned, or not heard when they arrive, and so on. The textile works of August Ebery in Auerbach in Vogtland were confiscated locally. The shareholders appealed to the Central German Commission and won their case, but their triumph was short-lived. The local "Unity" Party wire-pullers launched a Press campaign, scraped together new "reasons" for expropriation and again seized the firm. Once the "Unity" Party is determined to seize a particular undertaking the unfortunate owners might as well accept their fate, for there is then no end to the chicanery and lawlessness to which they are subjected until the expropriation is finally a fact.

Party Membership Confers Legal Immunity

Thanks to the many ways and means of hushing up and whitewashing disagreeable happenings, public opinion still does not realize just how heavily the arbitrary proceedings of the "Unity" Party burden the judiciary in the Eastern Zone. Things are so bad that even the "Legal Conference" of the "Unity" Party which opened in Berlin on March 1st, 1947, had to take note of the abuses. In a secret session of the conference a number of notorious cases came up for discussion.

Only a little while before, one of the party bodies had intervened in the due process of law in favour of one of its members who had broken into a farmhouse and struck down a "New" peasant with an iron bar during the ensuing struggle. As the victim had formerly been a member of the Nationalist "Stahlhelm" organization (over a decade previously), the party had demanded that the court before which the affair came up for hearing should convict the victim because in the course of the struggle he had injured his attacker.

This is by no means an isolated instance. Two judges in Schoenberg, who are members of the Christian Democratic Union, found themselves denounced to the Legal Administration in Schwerin because, amongst other things, they had decided a civil cause against a prominent member of the local "Unity" Party. An investigation of the charges by the Legal Administration showed that no other decision was possible on the facts of the case. But this, of course, evades the whole point, which is that a member of the "Unity" Party should be considered as a privileged person in the eyes of the law of the "New Democracy".

Another example of what is frequently occurring in the Eastern

Zone: on January 23rd, 1947, the *Maerkische Volksstimme*, a "Unity" Party newspaper, published a violent attack on Judge Kremser of the Pritzwalk Court as a protector of "active Fascists". Judge Kremser had shown courage enough to give a verdict against a member of the "Unity" Party who had gone in for a little private expropriation and seized furniture belonging to someone else. A week later the newspaper was compelled to publish a correction of its charges at the instance of the Ministry of Justice in Potsdam.

This case also came up for discussion at the "Unity" Party "Legal Conference". Frau Ministerial Director Benjamin of the Central Legal Administration severely criticized Judge Kremser because he had not protected the private expropriator by granting a stay of execution, and she added: "I cannot say that I have the impression that Judge Kremser shows a great deal of understanding towards the tasks of the present time".

Thanks to the political influence of the "Unity" Party, it constantly happens that members of the party are spared prosecution when they have committed indictable offences—for instance, a prominent member of the "Unity" Party in Velten, named Herbert Nemson, was publicly accused of having stolen several thousand litres of petrol and sold them on the black market, and the accusation was publicly repeated at a conference of the "Block" parties in Nauen, but the Public Prosecutor still refused to take any official notice of the charge or to institute inquiries.

Similarly, in Velten a certain Frau Wuest, a member of the "Unity" Party who was employed in the municipal department for trade and supplies, stole textile coupons for herself and her friends. When the matter became public she was dismissed, but that was all; no prosecution was instituted—her party-book saved her from that.

A man named Urban, the owner of a mill in Velten, was accused of having adulterated flour and stolen no less than a hundred cwt sacks of flour. The Landrat's office in Nauen was instructed to appoint an "executor", in order that the mill, which had been closed down in the meantime owing to the irregularities, should carry on in the interests of the public food supply. But Urban, like the Landrat in Nauen, was a member of the "Unity" Party, so between them the two picked their own "executor", who was nothing but a straw man of Urban, and everything went on as before. No prosecution was ever instituted.

Velten is no exception. Just as in Nazi Germany, the possession of the right party-book protects its holder from prosecution in all but the most outrageous and flagrant cases which, for political reasons, it is not possible to ignore. Membership of the "Unity" Party is even quoted in the courts in order to impress and "warn" the judges.

For instance, when a film operator named Eichholz was charged before the Potsdam Court with driving to the public danger, his defending counsel, "People's Lawyer" Bock, flourished the defendant's membership book of the "Unity" Party to support his eloquence. It is hardly unfair to assume that he had good reason for thinking that his client's membership of the "right party" would have an effect on the decision of the court.

"*People's Police*"

One of the chief tasks which the "Anti-Fascist Block" has set itself in the Eastern Zone is "to establish full legal security and liberty on the basis of a democratic State", at least if we are to believe its official proclamation of July 14th, 1945. Naturally, one of the preliminary conditions for the achievement of this high aim is the existence of an efficient police force representing a reliable bulwark of order and security and proceeding against all offenders without respect to persons. This is where the "People's Police" come in, and it is due in no small measure to their indefatigable activities that order and security are, as we have seen, so firmly established in the Eastern Zone.

Generally speaking, the police forces in Germany were at one time very much under social-democratic influence, particularly in the big towns, but now all higher police ranks in the Eastern Zone are filled by Communists, and those social-democratic elements which could not be got rid of at once have since been systematically eliminated to make room for members of the "Unity" Party. When the police force was strengthened in order to take over the supervision of the frontiers of the Eastern Zone, the "Unity" Party saw to it that only "reliable" men were recruited. In the beginning these recruits were utterly inexperienced (except where their "experience" lay on the other side of the fence, which was often the case), but later police training began again. On the walls of the police school in Biesenthal, in the Mark Brandenburg, hang portraits of Lenin and Stalin, and the whole training is imbued with "the spirit of Bolshevism". This means in particular the closest co-operation with the Russian Secret Service. At all German police-stations there is a liaison officer representing the Soviet Military Authority.

At the beginning of 1947 the police on duty at Meyenburg Station (Priegnitz) were strengthened by civilians wearing armlets who derived their authority from the local "Unity" Party organization. Their duties consisted in searching all passengers for foodstuffs and other commodities. The control they established was ruthless; not a potato, or a packet of butter, or any desirable foodstuff was let through. Allegedly the goods confiscated in this way were dis-

tributed amongst "the people", but as the "People's Police" saw to this without any further control on the part of the general public, the result may be imagined.

Thanks to their close contact with the Russian Secret Service (N.K.V.D.), the new German "People's Police" are quite at home in the latest police methods as practised in all the Democracies on the other side of the Iron Curtain. For instance, shortly before the municipal elections in 1946 the Chief of Police in Schoenberg ordered searches for hidden arms in the houses of Wessels, district chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, and Horst, a factory owner in Palingen, who is the local representative of the C.D.U. The search of Wessels' house was carried out by detectives named Doll and Schmidt. Only with some difficulty could Wessels prevent the two men from leaving a pistol behind to be "found" later. The bright detectives were more fortunate in the case of Horst, or had been made more cunning by experience, and the N.K.V.D. promptly arrested him for being in possession of arms. However, even in this case the job had been done clumsily, and Horst managed to establish his innocence.

Imprisonment in the "New Democracy" is Hell

One of the worst scandals in the Eastern Zone is the state of the penal system. Many prisons were destroyed during the war, and many of those that are left have been requisitioned by the Russian military authorities for their own use. These N.K.V.D. prisons are hermetically sealed off from the outside world, and no one is allowed to know what goes on inside, or even to approach the vicinity of the prison walls. These places are the outer works of that great concentration camp which calls itself the Soviet Union.

When the Red Army advanced it regarded itself as a liberator, and promptly proceeded to empty the prisons, releasing all the inmates, irrespective of what their offences had been—murder, rape, robbery with violence, or political. The criminals naturally stole everything in the prisons they could possibly carry away with them: blankets, pillows, cutlery, bowls, plates, etc. Where the prisons had workshops attached they stole whatever material was available and all the machinery and tools which were transportable. Before long many of these liberated criminals found themselves in prison once again after they had made hay in their own fashion as "Communist" Landraete, Mayors and even Police Chiefs.

Where prisons were finally handed back to the German prison authorities, as sometimes happened, the Russians removed whatever might still have been left and returned the empty shell. In some places this dismantling went so far that—as, for instance, in Aue

Prison in Erzgebirge—the Russians dug up the drains and took away the pipes. The N.K.V.D. had just evacuated Schoenberg Prison in Mecklenburg when I arrived as representative of the Central Legal Department. The scene after the liberators had withdrawn was almost indescribable. Reference books, files, registers and so on had all been flung into heaps on the floor. Piles of human excrement lay around and the lavatories were choked. Everything of value had been carted off, including prison clothes. This was the regular procedure of the N.K.V.D., not only in the early days, but for years afterwards. The result was that when the prisons were again taken into use for German purposes prisoners were held under inhuman conditions. Owing to the shortage of prison premises, totally unsuitable buildings were pressed into service. Prisoners are squeezed together on benches, and at night they must sleep on the floors. As there are no cells, common rooms have to be used, and the condition of these is frightful. In Oranienburg the old prison building was totally destroyed, so the main hall of a brewery is now being used as a prison. Plank beds have been erected until there is hardly room to walk between them, and here a mass of overcrowded prisoners spend their days in semi-darkness, both remand prisoners and convicts, juvenile delinquents and old lags, all together.

In Chemnitz the prison was partly destroyed, and what was left has been made good hurriedly. It is crowded with prisoners who are never allowed exercise because the prison no longer has a proper exercise yard surrounded with walls. In Gardelegen a former stores on the market-place is now used as a prison, and boards are nailed over the windows. All the prisons and improvised arrest houses in the Eastern Zone are overcrowded. Many of them hold both men and women, and often there are no women warders available. In summer the air is hot and fœtid. In winter it is no less fœtid, but freezing, and many of the prisoners suffer from frost-bite. In some districts, owing to the impossibility of obtaining fuel to heat these places, the local authorities have released the remand and less serious cases on parole, rather than see them freeze to death or perhaps get pneumonia.

The authorities frequently have no supplies of blankets and clothing, and prisoners have to continue wearing their own clothes, and as washing facilities are poor and there is little or no soap, cases of skin disease are frequent. The pails used as closets are often damaged and lack tops, with the result that the atmosphere in the prison rooms is terrible. The food provided is both poor in quality and inadequate in quantity. Prisoners get the lowest scale of rations —a scale so low that it is impossible to exist in the long run without supplementary nourishment. The result is that long-term prisoners

are usually emaciated and exhausted, and many of them are literally slowly starved to death.

These conditions are well known to those in authority, and the practice, so widespread in the Eastern Zone, of ordering preventive arrest or long remands for the smallest offence is criminal. In many cases prisoners are held for weeks and even months before they are brought before magistrates and charged. Some of the prison governors and officials do their best in these difficult circumstances, but unfortunately there are also cases where sadistic tyrants enjoy turning imprisonment into a hell on earth for their prisoners. Prisoners have little or no chance of getting complaints heard. A letter written by remand prisoners in the prison of Frankfort-on-Oder, complaining of the endless wait to which they were subjected before their cases came up for review, was written on December 2nd, 1946. It reached the Soviet officious *Taegliche Rundschau* on December 16th. It remained in the editorial office of this organ of the Red Army until January 2nd, 1947, and was then despatched with appropriate comments to the Central Legal Administration, where it arrived on February 7th, more than two months after it had been written.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW POTSDAM

POTSDAM, THE official residence of Prussia's kings, is a deep-rooted conception for all Germans. It represents more or less enlightened absolutism, with or without the stick; harsh-voiced Junker arrogance; brainless robot drill—the whole tricked out with the shabby tinfoil of the Hohenzollern Legend. Though it still has many incorrigible admirers, the "old" spirit of Potsdam lies buried under the ruins of the town. It is with the "new" spirit of Potsdam that has taken its place that we are concerned.

Behind Prison Walls

On January 3rd, 1946, the new-style "commissarial" judge of the local court of Lieberose, a man named Buettner, was delivered into the police prison of Kottbus by Detective-Inspector Winkler. This Buettner had been a cook by trade, but after the entry of the Russian troops into Lieberose, a Russian colonel had appointed him the local Justice. This appointment was not confirmed by the Provincial Government in Potsdam, but nevertheless for over six months the man was the highest representative of justice in Lieberose, during which period he embezzled money right and left. However, at last his glory was extinguished, and he found himself under arrest for a variety of offences, including abusing his authority, fraud and forgery.

Whilst in Kottbus police prison he was examined on several occasions in connection with the charges against him. But at midday on January 11th, 1946, he was found dead in his cell by Police-Sergeant Thomas. Apparently he had hanged himself with a leather belt. However, the post-mortem revealed that he had not died from throttling or hanging, but from the effects of heavy blows on the head with some blunt instrument.

Suspicion fell on Detective-Inspector Winkler, who had conducted the examinations of deceased, and inquiries elicited the fact that, on the pretext that it would assist in securing a conviction against Buettner, Winkler had invited the District Secretary of the Communist Party, a man named Donath, to help him in the examinations.

On January 17th Detective-Inspector Winkler was arrested on suspicion, and closely examined on a number of occasions concerning his part in the affair by officials of the C.I.D. in Kottbus, in the

presence of Lieutenant Serov, representing the Soviet Military Authority. A number of Kottbus police officials, the stenographer who had taken down the statements made by Buettner, and two witnesses who had been confronted with him in Lieberose were also examined. The result of the inquiries showed that Winkler, who had admitted hitting Buettner on the top of the head with the open palm of his hand, had actually beaten him until he had lost consciousness. It was also revealed that Winkler had beaten another arrested man in order to extort a confession from him, though this man had been released for lack of evidence against him.

However, inquiries showed that the prime mover in the maltreatment of Buettner had been the District Secretary of the Communist Party, Donath. According to the evidence of two policemen, Donath had broken Buettner's skull with the butt of a pistol.

By January 25th, 1946, the preliminary investigations were concluded. The case was clear, and the papers should have been sent to the Public Prosecutor for the drawing up of an indictment against Donath and Winkler. As there were no complications, the case should have come up for trial before a jury in March of that year at the latest. Instead nothing further happened until September 18th, 1946, when the Provincial Administration of the Mark Brandenburg wrote to the Public Prosecutor's Department in Kottbus that an indictment should now be filed, adding:

"Although there is considerable suspicion that Buettner's death was caused not only by the blows delivered by Winkler, but also by the maltreatment for which Donath was responsible, I [the letter is signed p.p. Krueger] do not think it advisable at this stage of the proceedings to indict Donath as well. In how far Buettner's death was caused by the bodily injuries caused by Donath can, in my opinion, be established only after close examination of the witnesses and in connection with the medical report. As I observe from a note in my file, Donath is no longer domiciled in Kottbus. A commissarial examination of the witness [*sic*] Donath does not seem to me to be desirable. He should be examined before the Criminal Court."

Why was Donath being shielded? In the meantime all the papers in the case had been in the hands of the Russian Secret Service—the N.K.W.D. (formerly known as the G.P.U.)—for months, and their Lieutenant Serov had suggested to the party that it should stand guarantor for Donath in order to prevent his arrest. The party had then sent Donath to a home for "victims of Fascism" in Kyritz, where he could stay in peace whilst his protectors took measures to see that he evaded his just punishment.

However, the weight of evidence against Donath was so great that, despite the suggestion from Potsdam, the Public Prosecutor's Department in Kottbus had no alternative but to file an indictment against him and issue a warrant for his arrest. In the meantime, however, Donath had " disappeared," and it was only at a later date that the authorities in Kottbus found out where he was. In reply to a request from the provincial court for information about Donath, the "Unity" Party declared that they were unaware of the present whereabouts of the "former" District Secretary of the Communist Party, Donath.

An entry on page 54 of the court records gives us a clue concerning the ulterior motives for getting rid of Buettner. It reads as follows:

"Herr Hans Schliebitz appeared in the Secretariat of the Communist Party, Straupitz District, and made the following statement: About four weeks ago a man who claimed to be the former local Justice of Lieberose, came to the Mayor of Straupitz and declared that he had been sent from Berlin by authority of the G.P.U. He persuaded the Mayor to give him the names and addresses of those members of the Hitler Youth and of the League of German Girls who had been taken away by the N.K.V.D. for re-education. On receipt of this information he visited the families in question, and got them to show him photographs of the boy or girl in question, whereupon he would declare that he had seen him or her in Lieberose. . . . These boys and girls, he said, were now in a camp in the neighbourhood of Forst, and would soon be sent home. In the meantime he required ten marks for each of them to pay their fares home. I was able to confirm this in the case of three families. As the man had said that he was going to Waldau, a village near Straupitz, and would return that evening, I gave instructions to hold him for the night, as I was of the opinion that it was a case of fraudulent representation. The following morning he was taken to the police in Luebben and later released from there. . . . The man struck me as mentally unbalanced. His name was Buettner."

This throws some light on why Donath's presence at Buettner's examination was considered desirable, and on the great importance attached to hushing up Donath's part in the murder. Buettner knew about the carrying off of young people in the Luebben district, and was trying to exploit his knowledge to his own financial advantage. The carrying off of young people in the Eastern Zone is a highly dangerous matter to get mixed up with. Anyone who knows too much and opens his mouth is liable to "disappear". It cost Buettner his life.

As is usual in such cases, the affair became more and more scandalous as it went on. The case was down for hearing in the Magistrate's Court in Kottbus on December 18th, 1946, but Winkler was charged only with assault and battery, whilst the charge against Donath was merely one of causing bodily injury. In view of the officially established facts of the case, the magistrate immediately committed the accused for trial before the Criminal Court at Kottbus, and at last, on March 5th, 1947, the hearing began.

In the meantime attempts to exonerate Winkler as well as Donath had failed. In August 1946 Police-Sergeant Deutschmann, who had given evidence a few days after the murder of Buettner greatly compromising Winkler, was arrested by the Russians because during the war he had allegedly mishandled foreign workers, including Russians. Thus (!), as the official comment of the Public Prosecutor's Department puts it, it could be assumed that he might also be the guilty party in the Buettner case, for it was not impossible that Buettner knew something about Deutschmann's past, and that therefore Deutschmann, who, as turnkey of the police prison, had access to Buettner's cell at all times, murdered Buettner for fear that the latter would expose him.

However, this attempt to put the guilt for the murder of Buettner on to Deutschmann, who, as the Russian Liaison Officer, Lieutenant Tschipikov, let slip later, was no longer alive to deny it, was rather too transparent, particularly as Winkler still admitted that he had, in fact, struck Buettner, and as the eye-witness Police-Sergeant Thomas confirmed his previous evidence to the effect that he had seen Donath hitting Buettner with the butt of his revolver.

All those present in court were quite convinced that Buettner had been murdered by Winkler and Donath acting in concert, and that Donath had been the prime mover in the affair. However, the defence was allowed excessive latitude, and it called, amongst others, two totally irrelevant witnesses. One of them, a man named Pavel, declared that as an inmate for many years of Buchenwald concentration camp, he, too, would have beaten anyone who, like Buettner, had falsely represented himself to be a "victim of Fascism". The evidence of the other defence witness, a man named Altmann, was still more extraordinary. He deposed that he had been imprisoned in Buchenwald with Donath, whom he knew as an extremely excitable person, and he went on to say: "In my opinion any one would lose his head in such a situation. In my capacity as District Police Chief I have studied the documents in this case and discovered many contradictions. In particular the investigations of the local police were not carried out properly. In my opinion the fatal blow must have been struck after Buettner's final examination. I

know that Deutschmann picked out the victims for the bloodhounds, and Buettner probably knew this too. I take it that Deutschmann went into Buettner's cell after the meal and hit Buettner with the dish. And when he saw that he was dead he probably hanged him up in order to simulate suicide. I am stating here only what I discovered at the time on the basis of my records."

After this "evidence", defending counsel had no need to say much. The Public Prosecutor demanded nine months imprisonment for Winkler—the time he had already been in prison awaiting trial, which meant his immediate release—and a fine of 600 marks for Donath. The court sentenced Winkler to three months imprisonment only, and acquitted Donath, on the ground that he had been guilty only of causing bodily harm, and that the requisite information had not been laid against him within the legal term laid down.

That, of course, was ridiculous. And in any case had it been true Donath should not have been acquitted; the case against him should have been dismissed. But the court had its instructions that Donath was to be acquitted, and it obeyed them. The Judge and the Public Prosecutor had both been called to the N.K.V.D. before the hearing to be told what verdict was to be arrived at—as they subsequently testified. A member of the "Unity" Party who served on the jury declared that the Judge had let himself be outvoted by the jury, which was also "in the secret". Shortly afterwards Judge Theopold, who had heard the case, retired from the Bench. District Secretary Donath again took up his domicile in Kottbus and continued his political activity. As Kottbus, a town of 60,000 inhabitants, is not allowed a newspaper by the Russian occupation authorities, and the Berlin papers are kept out of the Eastern Zone, this farcical trial of the murderers of Buettner took place out of sight and out of hearing, as far as the public was concerned.

A Peculiar Confession

On the eastern fringe of the Kottbus district lies Forst, in the Lausitz, well known for its cloth factories. By virtue of the Potsdam Agreement, Forst has become a frontier town; on the other side of the River Neisse lies territory under Polish administration. Like all such frontier towns, Forst is a hot-bed of smuggling, and criminal gangs of all sorts make the neighbourhood unsafe. The black market and racketeering flourish in all the public-houses around the railway station. Germans, Poles and Russians congregate there for their operations, which are accompanied by the consumption of large quantities of schnapps.

Amongst the dubious characters having their field of operations

in Forst was a certain Heinrich Ludwig, a fifty-four-year-old man who called himself an interpreter; coming from Tomaschov, he spoke German, Russian and Polish fluently. According to his neighbours, his quarters were the centre of much coming and going, and amongst his visitors were many Russians both in uniform and plain clothes.

In July 1946 this Ludwig made the acquaintance of an unemployed mechanic named Bohrmann, who had been released from a Polish prisoner-of-war camp, and hoped that Ludwig would be able to sell to Russian soldiers a bandonium he had. The business was settled on July 22nd in a public-house near the railway station, and Ludwig, Bohrmann and two Russian officers celebrated the deal until late in the night. Bohrmann had nowhere to stay, so Ludwig took him back with him to spend the night. The following day the two were again seen drinking heavily in the same pub, this time with Polish railwaymen. That night was also spent by Bohrmann in Ludwig's house. On the third day the two were again drinking in a public-house near the railway station. This time eight Red soldiers and three Russians in plain clothes joined them, and Ludwig negotiated with them concerning the purchase of a thousand cigarettes and some cloth. After a while the Russians in uniform left, and Ludwig and Bohrmann remained drinking with the other Russians until late in the evening. One of the Russians then bought three bottles of schnapps, and the whole party returned to Ludwig's place to drink it.

Bohrmann, who had been drinking heavily, went into the unlighted kitchen, sat down on a chair and fell asleep. He remembered that the three Russians came into the kitchen and offered him more schnapps. But by this time he had had more than enough, and he refused. He then received a heavy blow in the face and was seized and dragged into the next room. He tried to get out of this room to the stairs, but a double bed had been pulled across the door. Then he lost consciousness.

When he came to he found himself lying on a couch with a number of men standing around who turned out to be detectives. They had found him unconscious on the floor and had lifted him on to the couch. By the bed was a heavy, blood-stained pestle, and on the bed was Ludwig, with his skull smashed in and a gag in his mouth.

Bohrmann told the detectives his story. One upper tooth was missing from his jaw, and this was afterwards found on the floor of the kitchen, and corroborated his story of the heavy blow in the face he had received there before being dragged into the other room.

The state of the room showed that a violent struggle had taken

place. The wardrobe and chest-of-drawers had been ransacked and most of the belongings of the dead man were missing. A case packed with linen and other things still stood by the bed. The perpetrators seemed to have feared being surprised, for they had fled through the open window into the street. Neighbours had heard quite a deal of noise, but as that was nothing uncommon in Ludwig's quarters, no one had done anything about it.

All the evidence indicated that the murder and robbery had been carried out by the three Russians in plain clothes. However, Bohrmann was arrested under suspicion of complicity. Two days later, on July 27th, he signed the following remarkable "confession":

> "I, Bruno Bohrmann, born on April 3rd, 1923, in Margosgow, mechanic, admit that I killed the interpreter Ludwig at No. 4, Albert Street in Forst, provided I only get two years imprisonment for it."

The police in Forst added the rather naïve official comment: "The confession was made freely without the exercise of any violence or undue pressure on the part of the police." After that, however, the report goes on to talk about "day and night questioning", during which Bohrmann is said to have given the impression that he was experiencing severe "internal struggles". It had therefore seemed desirable to subject him to questioning every hour. On July 29th the acute detectives in Forst observed: "Bohrmann is concealing a secret which he is unwilling to divulge." Brought before the magistrate the same day, Bohrmann immediately withdrew his "confession" and declared that he had signed it only in order to save himself from further questioning.

Bohrmann's trial was fixed for the middle of August, and he had already been transferred to Kottbus to await the Assizes when, a few days before the hearing was to begin, the N.K.V.D. in Forst requested that he should be sent back to them "for further inquiries into the Ludwig murder". Bohrmann was thereupon sent back to Forst and handed over to the N.K.V.D., and that was the end of him. An official statement of the C.I.D. in Forst on October 10th, 1946, declares that Bohrmann "escaped from the N.K.V.D. in Forst and has not since been heard of". Obviously, in view of his unwillingness to take the blame for a murder committed by Russians, he was effectively disposed of.

Private "Expropriations"

Not far from Berlin, towards the south-east, lies Storkov. It is—or rather was, for now it is largely in ruins—a typical small town in the Mark. Its court buildings, for instance, have been very considerably

damaged. A magistrate, regarded on all hands as impartial and efficient, comes into the little town from Potsdam once a week. Court business is in the hands of an old-time official, honest and incorruptible, but overwhelmed with work. The Clerk of the Court, a seventy-three-year-old man named Lehmann, had to be dismissed for accepting "presents". His place was taken by a young employee of the borough recommended by the "Unity" Party. Previously the man had been a clerk, and had no legal experience. The court bailiff was dead. Another bailiff had returned from war-time imprisonment, but could not be re-engaged for political reasons: he had not yet proved himself to be politically unobjectionable to the new regime. Thus the stage: a court without a judge, without a clerk and without a bailiff. That is not an exceptional state of affairs in the Eastern Zone to-day.

In the administrative area of the Storkov court lies the village of Kolberg. A certain Frau G. from Berlin had come to Kolberg in 1938 and bought a small plot of ground on which there was a wooden hut. This she had replaced by a building of brick. Her husband had dealt in wholesale electrical fittings. In 1940 he had taken over an agency for certain Belgian and Spanish firms. In 1943–45 he had served a term of eighteen months imprisonment for supplying a group of emigrant Jews with foreign currency. After the German collapse he got a job with the American military administration.

Now, Kolberg had a commissarial mayor, a woman named Sonia Kloss, whose activities in office were loudly praised by the Communist Press as a model of their kind. At her instance the Land Reform Committee of Kolberg listed Frau G.'s "estate" for confiscation, on the ground that when G. came to Kolberg he had been a poor man, but that during the war he had profiteered and become rich. Much of his wealth was said to have been derived from the funds of the Spanish "Blue Division". This seems to have been a mere decorative flourish. Although G. had never been a member of the National Socialist Party, the Land Reform Committee declared that all the conditions for expropriation were present. The application for expropriation was signed by Sonia Kloss.

To make certain double sure, Sonia Kloss then denounced G. to the N.K.V.D. with the same charges. He was arrested by them, and since then no more has been heard of him. In April 1946 Sonia Kloss sent a document to Frau G. confiscating her house and the little bit of land attached to it. Photos attached to the documents in the case show the house to be a small bungalow in a garden. This is the "estate" referred to by Sonia Kloss. A certain Frau Mewes wanted the house. Sonia Kloss is the lover of the woman's step-son, a man named Chesny.

In August 1946 Frau G. appealed to the Central Legal Administration, which referred the case back to the local authorities "for their attention". Nothing further was heard, and after various inquiries a reply was at last received from a Dr. Hoeniger, to the effect that the matter was "in hand, but not yet settled". This Hoeniger was, incidentally, like Sonia Kloss, a member of the "Unity" Party. Another eight months passed without news, and then at the beginning of March 1947 Frau G. again wanted to know what was happening. The Central Legal Administration rang up Dr. Hoeniger, who replied irritably that it would be much better if the Administration did not waste its time on such "petty matters", but left them to the subordinate authorities, in accordance with the time-honoured custom of the Prussian Ministry of Justice.

However, Frau G. refused to give up, and on the basis of information she had obtained she filed a sworn statement to the effect that before the German collapse Sonia Kloss had worked for the Gestapo, and that her lover Chesny had been a leader of the S.S. After the collapse he had turned up in Kolberg, and Sonia Kloss had provided him with civilian clothes. This was too much to be ignored, and Sonia Kloss was suspended from office and faced a charge of bearing false witness in an official capacity. When the day of the hearing came round she failed to turn up, pleading that she was far advanced in pregnancy and unable to do so. In the meantime her protégé Frau Mewes is still living in Frau G.'s house.

It is a clear case of official "expropriation" for personal advantage. In this particular instance, owing to accidental circumstances, the manœuvre did not proceed without a hitch, but the point is that this sort of thing is not confined to Storkov and its broken-down legal administration; there are masses of such cases all over the Eastern Zone, the great majority of which never come to the notice of the public.

An Impossible Landrat

Altogether the "Unity" Party has been unlucky—if that is the right word—with its nominees. Again and again they have proved failures—embarrassing failures—not so much because they were incompetent, but because they were characterless. One of these "Unity" Party nominees was Landrat * Dietrich of Ruppin.

An official of the school administration named Schulze accused him of having been active in the Hitler movement and, furthermore, of having committed unnatural vice with youths in Ruppin, in the very best traditions of the S.S. As such, Dietrich was naturally not

* A "Landrat" is the administrative head of a district, combining approximately the functions of a Lord Lieutenant of a County and a Sheriff.—Tr.

a fit and proper person to occupy an official position, and not even the nomination of the "Unity" Party could shield him. Willynilly, therefore, Dietrich had to appeal to the Public Prosecutor in Neuruppin, a man named Bock. He succeeded in persuading Bock to go with him to various places in the Eastern Zone to collect evidence to rebut the charges made against him by Schulze. In Thuringia, Dietrich visited a woman who had given evidence before the court to the effect that she had surprised him in a highly suspicious attitude with a youth, and tried to persuade her to withdraw her evidence. Still in the company of the obliging Public Prosecutor, Dietrich then went to another witness, this time in Neuruppin, on a similar mission. However, the evidence against him was so strong that not even the friendly Public Prosecutor could avoid filing an indictment, and in the meantime the proceedings against Schulze for slander were suspended.

The De-Nazification Commission in Cologne-Delbrueck reported that Dietrich had been prominent in the Nazi youth movement from 1932 to the end. Thanks to political influence, he had made extraordinarily rapid advancement in the Customs service. Further evidence also came to hand concerning his unnatural relations with youths. No doubt whatever remained: the charges of Schulze were well-founded; Dietrich had been an active Nazi in a leading position, and he had also been repeatedly guilty of unnatural vice with adolescents.

However, despite this overwhelming evidence, Dietrich was not even suspended from office, and after the proceedings against Schulz had been placed in abeyance, he even succeeded in causing the latter's imprisonment for a while. In the meantime the proceedings against Dietrich went so very slowly that in April 1947 the Central Legal Administration wanted to know the reason. The provincial authorities replied in a letter, again signed by our old friend Dr. Hoeniger, that they would do their best to expedite matters. Whilst he was a prisoner of war in Russia, Dietrich had been a member of the Free German Committee, and, despite his Nazi past, the Communist Party had put him forward as their candidate for the official position of Landrat. Hoeniger and his friends therefore feared that Dietrich had "powerful connections", and they were consequently unwilling to do anything rash. How right Hoeniger was can be seen from the fact that the proceedings in connection with Dietrich's homosexual abuse of adolescents were hushed up by being taken away from the adjudication of the German courts and handed over to the Russians, since when nothing further has been heard about them. However, the scandal had become so public that in the end Dietrich had to be removed from office—but he

has not fallen from grace; the latest report shows that he is now a Mayor in a smaller town. A man may be morally corrupt, but provided he is politically useful to the "Unity" Party he has little to fear.

An Upright Judge

In the middle of November 1945 it was brought to the notice of the Central Legal Administration in Berlin that a man named Fandrich was officiating as a magistrate in the local court of Oranienburg, although he had no legal training and was not even a German citizen. Oranienburg is a little town to the north of Berlin which has won a sad notoriety by giving its name to the neighbouring concentration camp, founded by the Nazis and since taken over by the Russians. When definite charges became available concerning the official actions of this Fandrich, the Central Legal Administration got into touch with Dr. Hoeniger of the Provincial Administration in Berlin. Hoeniger, however—an obedient servant of his masters, as we have already seen—took up the cudgels on behalf of Fandrich, who had been appointed with the blessing of the Communist Party and the Soviet Military Administration in Oranienburg and thus seemed to have powerful connections.

For the moment the Central Legal Administration could do nothing, but in June 1946 new and serious allegations were made against Fandrich. The licence for the railway buffet in Oranienburg was in the hands of a certain Frau Krueger, who had been in the Nazi women's organisation prior to the German collapse, and whose husband had been a member of the Nazi party. As such people were not allowed to hold licences, a restaurateur named Kasper applied for the licence. But Frau Krueger also had good connections, it appeared, and the magistrate issued a summons to Kaspar to appear before him on a charge of having stolen meat. Fandrich fixed bail at 2,500 marks, which Kaspar paid over to avoid arrest. Fandrich pocketed this sum and issued no official receipt.

As there proved to be no doubt about Frau Krueger's past Nazi activities, and the regulations therefore prevented her from holding the licence for the railway-station buffet, an official of the railway named Spruch went to the buffet to look into the matter. There he found Fandrich, who had obviously been drinking heavily. Fandrich created a violent scene and defied Spruch, declaring that he would ruin anyone who tried to get the Kruegers out of the buffet. Apparently deeming discretion the better part of valour, Spruch suggested that the whole unpleasant affair might be settled by giving Kasper another licence elsewhere. Fandrich agreed to this,

and declared that if Kaspar gave no further trouble he would quash the proceedings against him in connection with the meat affair. Kaspar was given the licence of the railway buffer in Kremmen, the proceedings against him were quashed (they had never been anything but a piece of blackmail) and the Kruegers retained the licence in Oranienburg. However, Kaspar never got his 2,500 marks back.

Fandrich sentenced the landlady of a public-house in Oranienburg to three months imprisonment for some alleged offence or other and deprived her of her licence. The woman appealed to the Potsdam Court against the sentence and against the loss of her licence, and the appeal was successful. However, in the meantime the Oranienburg local council had put a nominee of the Communist Party into the public-house, and this man refused to vacate the premises and permit the rightful owner and licensee to return. This meant further proceedings, and the case was down for hearing on August 4th, at ten o'clock in the morning. When the former landlady's lawyer arrived at the court for the hearing he was told that it had been fixed for nine o'clock, and then postponed by Fandrich on the ground that the parties to the case had not appeared. Fandrich is also a habitue of this public-house, where the new landlord keeps him supplied with intoxicating liquor without payment.

A certain Dr. Scheerbarth had a well-furnished flat in Oranienburg which aroused the envy of Fandrich, who determined to have it for himself. During the war Scheerbarth had been a Captain in the Pay Corps. Fandrich denounced him to the Russians, secured his arrest, and then moved into his flat. Scheerbarth was sent to the former Nazi concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, now reopened and functioning as before under Russian administration, and nothing has been heard of him since.

All the charges and the evidence arising out of the above cases were carefully collated by the Central Legal Administration and placed before the Provincial Administration in Potsdam for a report. The report arrived in the form of a letter dated July 21st, 1946, and signed by the inevitable Dr. Hoeniger, from which the following extracts are the salient points:

"Judge Fandrich has certainly issued arrest warrants which in my opinion were not always absolutely necessary. However, in the cases which have been brought to my notice I have seen no reason for any official intervention. Up to the present I have not been able to discover that he has ever illegally withheld monies deposited as bail. . . . Fandrich employs his daughter at the court, but I have not been able to discover that this circumstance has given rise to any undesirable consequences. One of Fandrich's

sons is also attached in an informative capacity—without a salary—to the court. This is a temporary matter. . . . My general impression is that, although Judge Fandrich has no very well-founded knowledge of German law, he is always doing his best to provide himself with such knowledge, and he is open to advice. He has undoubtedly done good work by proceeding energetically against spivs, hoarders and thieves. His reputation in the eyes of the Soviet authorities in Oranienburg and Bernau is very great indeed, as I have had cause to learn from both the District and Area Commandants. The fact that the speaks Russian fluently is of particular assistance in the execution of his office. . . . Only a little while ago a suggestion arrived from the Chief Judge in Bernau that Fandrich should be awarded a premium for good work. . . . For my part I consider Fandrich to be a very talented man of unusual energy, though he certainly suffers from choleric outbursts. . . . When he is not provoked he is extremely polite in manner. Occasionally he has been guilty of alcoholic excess without his duties or the reputation of the court suffering in any important degree. . . . All in all I have not received the impression that Fandrich is a person unsuited for the office of judge."

It is illuminating to note what an important role Fandrich's knowledge of Russian plays in his office as a German magistrate. We shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the most important part of this extraordinary report is that which refers to the favour Fandrich enjoys in the eyes of the Russian authorities.

Accompanying this report were certain observations from the President of the Potsdam High Court to the effect that Fandrich had given an assurance that he was anxious to obey his instructions and administer the law properly, but had pointed out that it was a long way from Potsdam, and he must therefore be told what was required of him. "I have the impression", proceeds the President, "that Fandrich is playing the role of a little dictator in Oranienburg, particularly as the occupation authorities appear to be making use of his services in matters which, strictly speaking, do not belong to the purview of a magistrate. . . . In my opinion he carries out his duties much too closely in accordance with the wishes of the local S.M.A. Whilst I was there . . . a Russian officer appeared, and Fandrich told me that he had come in order to discuss the various cases with him."

Judge Halliant, who held the office of Legal Inspector for Oranienburg, also sent in a report which, whilst frankly admitting that Fandrich's legal knowledge was very hazy, declared bluntly that his relations with the various Russian authorities were so good that he must nevertheless be regarded as suitable to hold office.

In such circumstances it is not surprising that Fandrich was declared the best judge in the Mark Brandenburg and presented with a gold watch—whose origin is wrapped in mystery—in recognition of his valuable services. In order to protect him from the great love of the local population, he was also provided with an armed guard by the Russian occupation authorities. The Russians also proposed to make him President of the Central Legal Administration, but in the end so much scandalous material was collected about his illegal and arbitrary activities that it was possible to draw up an indictment against him and lay him by the heels.

The evidence which came out in connection with the indictment showed that he was born in 1886 at Teklin in Poland. By origin he was German, but he had obtained Russian nationality and had fought in the First World War as an officer in the Czarist army. Fandrich declared that he had studied law at the university of Moscow and been a judge in Poland, but his wife declared that he had been only commercially employed in Poland. Before the outbreak of the Second World War he was interned by the Poles, which suggests that he had been active in the pro-Hitler movement of Germans resident in Poland. He admitted that his sons had been in the Hitler Youth, and his daughter in the Nazi League of German Girls. He claimed that he had been arrested by the German occupation authorities in Poland in 1940 for anti-Fascist activity, but no confirmation of this could be obtained, though he certainly had been interned in Sachenhausen concentration camp, but in connection with criminal offences. Thanks to his knowledge of Russian, he had been employed there as an interpreter, and when the Russian army came in he was appointed by a certain Russian major named Nishevenko to take charge of the Oranienburg Court, such arbitrary appointments being the usual practice under Russian occupation.

The inquiries in connection with the indictment revealed a fantastic picture of corruption, robbery in office, bribery and illegality. A report of the Public Prosecutor in Potsdam dated March 17th, 1947, gives some indication of the reason for the popularity of Fandrich with the Russians. It appears that Fandrich had handed over large quantities of valuables, gold watches, gold cuff-links, gold rings and gold to the Town Kommandantur in Oranienburg. In addition, he had made lavish presents to high Russian officers. For instance, the Commandant of Fuerstenberg, the Major Nishevenko to whom he originally owed his office, had received a valuable collection of postage stamps. Another Russian officer had been given a motor-car. A Russian lieutenant had received a present of 8,000 marks, and a Russian flying officer a similar present of 5,000

marks. The source of all this generosity was the opportunity Fandrich had been given by the Russians to confiscate property and personal possessions by the misuse of his office.

Amongst the many cases brought to light were the following: Fandrich had accepted 30,000 marks from a woman in Berlin in return for ensuring that proceedings instituted by the Russians against her husband should be quashed. Twenty thousand marks were paid over to the Russians, and Fandrich retained 10,000 marks for himself. The proceedings were duly quashed.

Fandrich sentenced a married couple named Kessel to four years and four years and six months imprisonment respectively for an economic offence, fined them 25,000 marks, and ordered the confiscation of their property. The Court of Appeal reduced the sentences to three months imprisonment in each case, and waived the fine and the confiscation. In Fandrich's court the accused had not even been permitted to see the indictment. They were not informed of the date of the trial or given any opportunity of defending themselves. Fandrich did his best to prevent an appeal, and he threatened the lawyer of the defendants that if any attempt were made to interfere with his judgment he would call in the Russians. Having obtained possession under his own judgment of a house, 40,000 marks in cash, and jewellery, furniture, linen and household goods belonging to the Kessels, Fandrich handed over the house to the Public Prosecutor Wilde of Oranienburg, who had conducted the investigation and drawn up the indictment against the Kessels. Wilde was stated to have "purchased" the house and its contents; how he had done so was never revealed. An application filed by Kessel's lawyer for an intermediate injunction to prevent the disposal of the property belonging to the Kessels until the hearing of the appeal was simply ignored by Fandrich, who promptly arrested the man Kessel and held him in prison for several days for the alleged illegal possession of arms.

A favourite method of Fandrich's was to commence proceedings against butchers for alleged black-market offences; then he would obtain money, meat, alcohol and cigarettes from the accused. This was the real truth about Fandrich's good work against spivs, black marketeers, etc., of which Dr. Hoeniger was so proud. In at least one case Fandrich attempted to seduce the wife of a man against whom he had trumped up some such charge. In another case he arbitrarily confiscated a motor-car valued at about 40,000 marks. He also demanded from an Oranienburg lawyer that the man should pay him a commission on all the fees he earned in his court. Lawyer Jankuhn of Berlin, who had frequently opposed Fandrich and who had acted for the Kessels, was threatened that if he showed his face

in Oranienburg again Fandrich would have him arrested by the Russians. This was no idle threat, but one Fandrich had made good on a number of occasions.

On one occasion the buildings of the Auer Gas Light Company were seized by Fandrich on the ground that they were "ownerless and unclaimed". When the Potsdam Court revoked the confiscation, Fandrich's influence with the Russian authorities proved so great that the Russian Commandant announced that the confiscation would be considered as still valid despite the decision of the higher court. Fandrich did not even bother to communicate the decision of the Potsdam court to the interested parties.

In the meantime the Berlin lawyer Jankuhn had collected overwhelming evidence against Fandrich. It was placed before the Central Legal Administration, which again got into touch with Dr. Hoeniger, peremptorily instructing him to take action. This time Hoeniger answered promptly, and promised that he would himself examine the charges against Fandrich and take whatever action seemed necessary. Realizing that there was little hope of Hoeniger's taking any effective action against Fandrich, Dr. Schiffer of the Central Legal Administration addressed himself direct to the legal department of the Central Soviet Military Authority in Karlshorst. At last things began to move, and on January 10th, 1947, Stargardt, Minister of Justice in Potsdam, announced that a warrant had been issued for Fandrich's arrest, and was to be executed in the presence of Lieutenant Goffstein of the Potsdam S.M.A. However, Goffstein took his time, and it was two weeks before he went to Bernau "to discuss the arrest" thus giving Fandrich every opportunity of making his escape, but apparently the latter felt so secure that he stayed on, and was finally arrested.

On May 19th, 1947, he came up for trial before the Potsdam Court, charged on four counts with defeating the ends of justice, on eight counts with the illegal confiscation of property, on nine counts with malfeasance in office, on four counts with illegal arrests, and on a number of counts with the acceptance of bribes. Fandrich still did not seem to have realized that the Russians could no longer shield him, and he adopted an arrogant and truculent attitude. Hoeniger had to go into the box, where he cut a pitiful figure. Fandrich was sentenced to five years hard labour.

And a Somewhat Similar Mayor

At about the same time proceedings were taking place in Oranienburg which indicated that Fandrich was by no means an isolated instance of corruption in office. The Mayor of Zuehlsdorf,* a man

* German Mayors have certain quite wide police powers.—Tr.

named Walter Jakob, formerly a turner, had been carrying on in much the same way, stealing official monies, obtaining money by threats, maltreating prisoners, withdrawing summonses in return for payment, and so on. No action was ever taken in black-market cases provided the delinquents paid Jakob enough, and there was always a share for his friends and accomplices in the local administration and the local police force. Jakob caused the house of a Berlin jeweller who lived in Zuehlsdorf to be raided and searched, and he "confiscated" jewellery found there to the value of 20,000 marks. Most of this was then sold and the proceeds divided. Jakob himself retained a gold ring, a Swiss watch and a necklace. There was not a scrap of legal justification for this action.

In the autumn of 1945 Jakob ordered the arrest of a local resident named Hill on a charge of having shot an anti-Fascist during the Hitler period. Jakob stood by and watched two policemen named Rogovski and Hannemann beat up Hill so badly that he suffered, amongst other injuries, a broken skull. Later on "unknown persons" were said to have killed Hill.

For a while Jakob sat firmly in the saddle, despite all the complaints that began to pile up against him, and his fellow members of the "Unity" Party in the district administration even promoted him to be Mayor of Wandlitz. At last he had to be arrested in connection with the murder of Hill, but only for a few days and then he was released. There were also incidentally very strong suspicions that he had been concerned in the murder of two other inhabitants of Zuehlsdorf. As so often in the Eastern Zone, the criminal's influence with the "Unity" Party, and, in consequence, with the Russian occupation authorities, saved him.

The Case of the Blue Limousine

For two years a series of robberies with violence carried out by a gang using a blue limousine made Berlin and the neighbourhood unsafe. In the winter of 1945–46 this gang committed no fewer than seventy-eight robberies. All attempts to catch the criminals proved fruitless until the end of October 1947, when one of them was knocked unconscious and captured during a raid on a farm near Berlin. After much questioning he gave information which put the police on the trail of the leader of the gang, a man named Schroeder, who came from the Baltic and spoke fluent Russian.

After the Russian occupation Schroeder was employed as an interpreter in Luckenwald. Then he was transferred to Trebbin as "liaison" between the Mayor and the Russian occupation authorities. Occupying a responsible position and enjoying the confidence of the Russian authorities Schroeder then proceeded to organize a

gang of robbers. Before long they became the terror of the neighbourhood.

One of Schroeder's henchmen, a man named Schoeppe, also from the Baltic, was appointed chief interpreter by the Mayor of Potsdam, Dr. Werner Zahn; later on the man was even made Vice-President of Police, an office he held for many months. Incidentally, Zahn himself was another blackguard. He was supposed to be a victim of Fascism, but in fact he was neither a doctor nor an anti-Fascist, but a swindler who had served a five-year term for forgery. During the Hitler period he had been an active Nazi. When it all came out, and he was finally arrested, it was also discovered that, together with Schoeppe, his Vice-President of Police, he had relieved the town finances of quite a large sum. Schoeppe, with an eye to the future, "confiscated" eight lorries during his term of office and founded a transport business. At the end of 1946 he, too, was exposed and arrested.

The arrest of his lieutenant, Schoeppe, did not put a stop to Schroeder's career as a gangster. A great number of unsolved robberies committed on the motor road from Berlin to Michendorf, one of which cost a Russian Major his life, were subsequently found to have been due to him. Needless to say, like all the members of his band, Schroeder was a zealous member of the "Unity" Party.

Criminals Masquerade as Victims of Fascism

Walter Stahlberg was another Potsdam official whose depredations were committed during the reign of Mayor Zahn of Potsdam. In the end he, too, was exposed and sentenced to three years hard labour for swindling, perjury and forgery. Stahlberg was one of those innumerable "victims of Fascism" who turned up when the Russians occupied Germany and exploited their credit to commit various crimes. In reality Stahlberg was a criminal who had been convicted seven times on various charges, including theft, forgery, embezzlement and unnatural vice, and had spent many years in Brandenburg Prison. Zahn, who also knew Brandenburg Prison very well from the inside, put him in charge of the "Confiscations" Department as the nominee of the Russian Kommandantur. Stahlberg asked nothing better. His operations were under no control, and he could do as he pleased. Naturally, like all the others of his kidney, he misused his office ruthlessly to his personal advantage. After his arrest he declared in evidence that he had furnished all the rooms of the Potsdam Kommandantur, the Caecilienhof and in part the offices of the Russian military administration with confiscated goods.

Another bright light amongst the new officials in the Eastern

Zone was the former Mecklenburg police official Hase. Under him "third-degree" methods to extort confessions were common. Not only did he tolerate the maltreatment of prisoners, but he took an active part in it himself. Prisoners were brutally beaten, and obstinate cases were pulled off the ground by their hands, which were handcuffed behind their backs, and hung from hooks in the ceiling until they agreed to talk. Hase also stole property, including silver and furniture, which had been seized officially by the police.

Hase also obliged Russian officers by allowing them to take female prisoners out of the police prison at night. The women were taken off in cars and brought back a few hours later when the Russians had finished with them. Women to whom this happened were released the following day and warned to keep their mouths shut. In the end Hase's doings in Schwerin became so notorious that he had to be removed. But this was by no means the end of him, for the provincial Government of the Mark Brandenburg appointed him Landrat of Templin, where he opened up a new and very lucrative source of income for himself by imposing arbitrary fines on the peasants. What caused him to lose his job in the end was not his corruption, but the hopeless muddle created by his incompetent interference in the affairs of the peasants, as a result of which one year the potato crop was completely ruined.

The Central Legal Administration vainly requested the opening of proceedings against him. When it heard that instead he had been appointed Landrat in Templin, a further inquiry was put through in December 1946. No reply was obtained until March 1947, when Dr. Hoeniger wrote to say that in the meantime Hase had been transferred to Caput near Potsdam.

Plundering and Kidnapping

A volume could be written about the "transfer of property rights" in houses, furniture, clothing and valuables which took place in the first few months after the collapse in 1945. All those who had fled before the advancing Russians were declared by the various Kommandanturs to have forfeited their property rights in everything they had left behind. Anyone who cared to grab it could do so with impunity. On the other hand, those who remained behind were often worse off. They risked maltreatment and even death, arrest and internment, as well as the loss of their property. In addition, their womenfolk were often raped by Russian soldiery. When things calmed down later on the former owners found it impossible to secure the return of their property because of the orders issued at the time by the Russian military authorities. As the German authorities were not in a position to assist in the recovery of such property, for no courts

dared hear such cases, they were inclined to draw a veil over the whole illegal and often violent proceedings.

There was another very widespread abuse after the German collapse. Owing to the heavy air raids on Berlin and other towns, individuals and firms had transferred much movable property and valuables to country districts for safety. Taking advantage of the disturbed state of affairs, many municipalities began to confiscate these goods and distribute them locally. Even in August 1946 many such cases were still being reported. The following is a typical instance.

The owner of a factory for the manufacture of safes in Berlin, a certain Max Mueller, stored furniture to the value of 40,000 marks with a woman named Springer in Langewahl near Fuerstenwalde in the Spree district. In May 1945 he went to Langewahl to see about fetching his property back to Berlin. When he arrived he found that it had all been taken away at the orders of the Mayor of Langewahl, a man named Kaeseler, who had kept much of it himself, and divided the rest amongst his friends. Mueller set official inquiries into operation, and according to a letter sent to him on November 24th, 1945, by the Landrat of Beeshow-Storkov, a man named Mogel and an active member of the "Unity" Party, the Mayor of Langewahl, Kaeseler, told the following story:

"When the victorious Red Army occupied the village of Langewahl at the end of April 1945 it ordered the population to deliver up the following articles: wireless sets, motor cycles, weapons of all sorts, motor-cars and cameras. The population loyally obeyed these instructions, except the widow Springer, and she retained certain articles which she should have handed in. It was reliably reported on several occasions that she was harbouring several cases in her house belonging to a manufacturer of explosives in Berlin. . . . Therefore the Red Army ordered a thorough search of her house. During the search amongst the things stored by Mueller in the cellar several typewriters, wireless sets and a bundle of Hakenkreuz flags were discovered. In addition, there were a number of uniforms and some private photos which showed Mueller together with prominent Nazis and members of the Army Council. These photos were confiscated by our District Commandant, Major Juri Vasilievitch Ivanov. During the search many things were broken and pitched out into the roadway as a punishment for the widow Springer's failure to obey a Red Army order. The remaining things were placed at our disposal for distribution amongst the poor and those who had been bombed out. At that time there were thirty Ukrainian and three Russian families who

came into the last-mentioned category. The Russian interpreter took a suite of furniture for herself. Then the Russians requisitioned the villa as a hospital. As the widow Springer refused to vacate the premises, the soldiers just flung the furniture out of the windows. Some of it was taken in by neighbours, and the rest was put in the school-house. After that it was necessary from time to time to comply with the wishes of military persons and hand over various items, including linen. Such articles were never recovered because the soldiers took them with them when they left. The same thing happened in the villa; when the Russians left they took everything along with them, particularly as the widow Springer was in very bad odour with the Kommandantur. As it was suspected that there were arms in the house, another search was made, and in one of the rooms occupied by the widow Springer a revolver was found, and also some jackets with Nazi party badges in the lapels. Max Mueller was discovered to be the owner of the revolver. He was the owner of a factory which had manufactured safes in peace-time but had turned its production exclusively to war purposes during the war. This fact left no doubt that Mueller was a war offender in the sense of the Control Commission decision."

So much for Kaeseler's letter. The documents in the case showed that, in fact, Mueller's factory had never been used for the production of war material. At the same time the testimony of the Commandant of the Berlin police, Ludwig Schroeder, given on July 6th, 1945, showed that Mueller was a firm opponent of the Nazi system. No arms had been amongst his goods stored in the villa of the widow Springer. A certain Frau Mennicke was found to have come into possession of a bedroom suite belonging to Mueller, whilst other furniture was in the possession of her daughter, Frau Schmuck. A typewriter belonging to Mueller was in the office of the Langewahl Council. In an effort to evade an investigation, the Mayor Kaeseler started a rumour that Mueller was being looked for by the N.K.V.D. Good care was taken to see that the rumour came to Mueller's ears, with the result that he became doubtful about the advisability of going to Langewahl, where on February 1st, 1946, an inquiry was to be held, in his presence, into the whereabouts of his property. On January 29th, three days before the proposed hearing, two men called on him in his office declaring that they had been sent to take him to a discussion on the matter with Mayors Orlopp and Schwenk (who subsequently declared that they knew nothing whatever about it). Mueller allowed himself to be persuaded, and left his office in a car, which was recognized as belonging to the Russian military

authorities. Since then nothing further has been heard of him, and his furniture and possessions are safely in the hands of those who stole them.

Both Files and Human Beings Disappear

A very considerable degree of responsibility for the lawless state of affairs which exists is borne by the provincial authorities, and in particular by the Provincial Government in Potsdam under the presidency of Dr. Steinhoff, who has established a thoroughly autocratic regime. Meetings of his Cabinet take place only at long intervals, and in the meantime he issues orders and instructions without reference to his Ministers and departmental chiefs. Even in important matters he does not always consult his colleagues. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information about the activities or policy of the Potsdam Government, and requests for information are usually evaded with remarks such as: "The investigations are not yet concluded"; "At the moment it is impossible to establish the whereabouts of the documents in the case"; "Further inquiries are being made", and so on.

In one case crops had been stolen with the open connivance of the local police. The Potsdam administration replied: "The question of whether the police in Nauen were guilty of any neglect of their duty is under consideration." And it remained "under consideration". In a further case policemen had stolen tobacco and cigarettes. The salomonic reply of the Potsdam administration read:

> "The complainant asks not for the punishment of the police officials responsible, but for the return of the stolen goods. This is impossible, as according to the documents in the case they were distributed amongst the people. There is little reason to suppose that the police consumed, or even largely consumed, the goods for themselves."

In practice, of course, such a cynical attitude amounts to an encouragement of offences in office, as the Fandrich case clearly shows. To make it still more difficult for injured parties to take their complaints to law, the Potsdam Government has since ordered that complaints referring to administrative measures should no longer be heard before the ordinary courts, but made direct to the administration only. What hopes injured parties have of obtaining their rights when the only party to whom they can appeal is the party originally responsible for the injury can be imagined.

The Potsdam Government is a purely party regime, and it does not hesitate to abuse its authority in the interests of the "Unity"

Party and against all oppositional groups. The following official circular speaks volumes:

"*Oberbarnim District Council.* *Bad Freienwald*, 30.xii.47.
"*Department I. Information Service.*

"To the Mayors of the Oberbarnim District.
"Re: Leaflet 'Kaiser and the C.D.U.'

"Herewith please receive copies of the above-mentioned leaflet. By order of the Minister of the Interior, Herr Bechler, steps must be taken without fail to see that this leaflet is circulated amongst the population, read at public meetings and exposed in public places.

"Mayors are informed that they will be held personally responsible by the Minister of the Interior for the proper carrying out of these instructions.

"P.p. (Sig.) Bohm. (Stamp)."

The leaflet in question is a political diatribe issued by the "Unity" Party.

But Bechler is under strong suspicion of doing even worse things than misusing his office for party propaganda. Long before the arrest of the Vice-President of Police, Schoeppe, one of the leading criminals in the Blue Limousine series of robberies and murders, a Potsdam lawyer, Dr. Stange, repeatedly tried to get Bechler to take action against the criminals. Irritated at Bechler's constant evasions, he pointed out that, as a former major attached to the Staff of the German Army, Bechler himself ought first to pass through the process of de-Nazification. It was an incautious observation, though perfectly true, and on October 14th, 1947, Dr. Stange left home to make a few purchases in the town and never returned. He has not been heard of since.

Not only documents, but also human beings have a habit of disappearing at convenient moments under the new regime.

Robbed and Sent to a Lunatic Asylum

During the Hitler regime a woman named Annemarie Neuwald was prosecuted by the authorities for her anti-Fascist views. A house belonging to her in Eberswalde was confiscated and Nazi families put in as tenants. After the German collapse, Frau Neuwald tried to obtain the return of her property, but in the meantime two members of the Communist Party, Chief Councillor Peetz and Councillor Groba, had cast their eyes on it. They caused the arrest of Frau Neuwald, and whilst she was in prison they occupied the house and obtained possession of its contents. In order to enjoy the pro-

ceeds of their lawlessness in peace, they then secured the transfer of Frau Neuwald to a lunatic asylum. However, Frau Neuwald, though furiously indignant at the treatment meted out to her, was perfectly right in the head, and after a while she secured her discharge and went to court to try to obtain her rights. On February 14th, 1946, she received the following letter from the District Committee of the Communist Party in Eberswalde, signed "Iven, Party Secretary":

> "Should you continue to abuse and vilify members of the Communist Party, and thereby the Communist Party itself, we shall be compelled to take measures against you. We trust that you are perfectly aware of the disagreeable consequences this would have for you personally."

The background of this threat was that Frau Neuwald had denounced both Peetz and Groba as former active Nazis, a charge which subsequently proved to be only too well founded. Groba had even been an agent of the Gestapo and responsible for the arrest of a number of anti-Nazis under the Hitler regime. In the end Frau Neuwald appealed direct to the President of the Potsdam Government, Dr. Steinhoff, to try to obtain her rights. On February 11th, 1947, after a delay of seven months, she received an official intimation that former Chief Councillor Peetz had disappeared, and that "in the majority of cases" the charges against Councillor Groba could not be proved. Further, "the authorities in Eberswalde" had reported that the documents in the case had "disappeared" so that nothing further could be undertaken in the matter.

Communist Mud Slinging

The attitude of the Communist Party towards Frau Neuwald is no isolated case. Just before the municipal elections on December 15th, 1946, the "Unity" Party in Bernau distributed a leaflet containing the following:

> "Electors, keep your eyes open: Fascists of the worst sort are on the candidate list of the C.D.U., including Hugo Forster of Berlinerstrasse No. 75. This man was formerly a fascist, who ought to be brought before the court for stealing a hundred tons of potatoes. He enriched himself shamelessly at the expense of the suffering people and bought himself a house with the proceeds. Such people ought to be in prison, not your municipal candidates. Give them the right answer: Vote the Unity list!"

Forster had been an official of the Bernau Council since December 1945, and as such he had been in charge of potato supplies. Two days after the election he was dismissed without notice by the Landrat

of Niederbarnim, Paatz, for allegedly having conducted "impermissible activity during duty hours". The dismissal was said to have been ordered by the District Kommandantur. Before the Labour Court Forster proved that, far from having stolen 100 tons of potatoes, it was he who had been responsible for preventing the stealing and for bringing the would-be thieves to justice. He was also able to refute the charge that he had formerly been a Fascist. The house that he was alleged to have bought turned out to have been only rented. Sent by Mayor Torps to the Landrat in order to rehabilitate himself, Forster was arrested and held for several days.

A peasant named Eduard Schneider was brought to trial by the same Bernau authorities for alleged economic offences. He was sentenced to five years hard labour and the confiscation of all his property. He appealed, and the Court of Appeal in Potsdam discovered that the indictment drawn up by the Bernau authorities was largely without foundation. It reduced the sentence to one month's imprisonment and quashed the confiscation order. However, this did not mean that Schneider recovered his property, for under the direction of Landrat Paatz, everything he had owned, including stores, implements and livestock, had been taken away immediately after the first verdict. In addition, no inventory had been drawn up and therefore no copy handed to Schneider or his representative.

Landrat Paatz is a typical example of the new officials who now lord it in the Eastern Zone. He is a zealous member of the "Unity" Party, and he has been publicly accused in the independent *Telegraf* of having carried out illegal searches in the houses of various people, whereby confiscated articles found their way into his hands and those of his Police Chief. The answer of the "Unity" Press to these charges was a campaign in which the *Telegraf* was accused of "defending Fascists".

Under the new regime a state of lawlessness reigns in the Mark Brandenburg. The cases in which the new officials misuse their office for personal gain are innumerable. Porath, an official of the Wittstock court, was found to have been the many-times-convicted member of a gang of thieves. Judge Bolzmann in Meyenburg had to be removed from office for various criminal offences. Kaelbe in Dahme had to be suspended for similar reasons. Loder in Angermuende was discovered to have been an active Nazi. Mayor Liesegang of Lychen had to be brought to trial for highway robbery and attempted murder, and was sentenced to fifteen years hard labour. Buettner, Lehmann, Sonia Kloss, Mogel, Diedrich, Fandrich, Zahn, Schoeppe, Stahlberg, Jakob, Hase, Peetz, Groba, Chmielevsky,

and Paatz are only a few amongst many, many others guilty of theft, robbery, illegal confiscation, misuse of office and other offences.

The Occupation Authorities Dictate

An order issued on July 9th, 1946, by Guards Lieutenant Ponomartchuk, Chief of the Economic Department of the S.M.A. in Potsdam, to the President of the Province of Brandenburg, Dr. Steinhoff, gives some idea of the difficulties with which the local authorities and the courts have to contend:

"A detailed investigation into the way in which the delivery plan is being carried out in the various districts of the province indicates that not all the Landraete and Mayors by any means have realized the elementary truth, that their first and most important task is to control systematically whether each supplier strictly fulfils his obigations by the dates fixed. . . . Such a state of affairs can no longer be tolerated. Inform your Landraete and Mayors that the work for the securing of agricultural produce deliveries must always be in the centre point of their activities. Insist that it is the duty of these officials to make up for the overdue deliveries in the first ten days of July and to increase fundamentally the deliveries for the current month. No latitude or consideration is permissible in the work for the securing of agricultural produce. . . . Explain to the peasants again that once they have fulfilled their delivery obligations, all that remains over is at their free disposal for sale or otherwise. Having regard to the tremendous political and economic importance of a proper carrying out of the delivery plan, I place you under an obligation to take all the necessary measures under your personal guidance and control, and to react operatively at once in all cases of laggardness and in all cases in which the delivery quotas are not honoured."

In plain language the odd phrase "react operatively at once" means: confiscate, dismiss, arrest and imprison. Incidentally, if any peasant should harbour the illusion that anything left over after the fulfilment of his quota is his own to do as he likes with, he is doomed to disappointment, for the Potsdam authorities adopt the standpoint that even this "free peak" produce is equally subject to control.

A bleak wind blows from Potsdam. Its effect in the provinces can be seen from the following report of the President of the High Court in Neuruppin to the Ministry of Justice in Brandenburg:

"A meeting took place on November 27th, 1946, at the office of the Commandant of the Neuruppin district, at which the Landraete, judges, public prosecutors and police officials were present.

The District Commandant expressed his disapproval of the fact that peasants and farmers who had not fulfilled their quotas were not being sufficiently punished, and that in some cases they were even being acquitted. He declared that in future peasants and farmers who failed to fulfil their quotas must be made an example of and severely punished. It was, he declared, of no importance whether the failure to fulfil the quotas was due to malice or not. It was the duty of peasants to fulfil their quotas in all circumstances, and if they were unable to do so from their own resources then they should obtain what they lacked from third parties. The Commandant demanded of our judges that all the accused who had been acquitted should be made to promise to fulfil their delivery quotas within two or three days, and that in the event of their failing to do so they should be re-arrested and punished for sabotage. The fact that such a procedure could not be reconciled with German law was of no importance. His orders must be carried out to the letter, and if they were not he would bring the judges themselves before a military court and charge them with sabotage."

The result was that in Rheinsberg alone fifty-five peasants and farmers including eleven women were arrested for non-fulfilment of their delivery quotas, although they all declared that it was absolutely impossible for them to deliver the quotas demanded.

The report concludes by complaining that the judges were being placed in an extremely awkward position.

> "If they obey the orders of the District Commandant then they violate the law, and if they do not obey his orders, then they are themselves in danger of being arrested by him and charged with sabotage before a court-martial. Please let me have instructions as to how the judges are to act in these circumstances."

On the other hand, when German officials of the occupation authorities commit offences in the execution of their duties, the German authorities are not allowed to take any action against them without the express permission of the Russian authorities. Naturally, all these officials are members of the "Unity" Party.

Germany's judges, at least in the Eastern Zone, have escaped the stranglehold of Nazi dominance to find themselves squeezed just as tightly in the Russian grip. Many of them are troubled by their consciences, but most of them do as they are told. Under the autocracy of Frederick the Great "there were still judges in Potsdam". It will be difficult to tell future generations that "there were still judges in Potsdam" under the Russian knout.

CHAPTER IV

SAXONY UNDER THE SOVIET STAR

TOGETHER WITH the Ruhr and Saar districts, Saxony is one of the most highly industrialized areas in Germany. Its present rulers declare that it is "a model Red State", and certainly, wherever you go in Saxony you are constantly reminded that Bolshevism is in power. At the entrance to the smallest village you will find a primitive "triumphal arch" of wood erected to the glory of the Red Army; on the walls you will find huge portraits of Lenin and Stalin; on the streets you will find banners with Communist slogans and extracts from "the Stalinist Constitution". Stalin, Stalin, Stalin wherever you turn. In the Lord Mayor's office in Plauen there is a picture of Stalin in colours on the wall and also an effigy in metal, and across the front of the trade union headquarters, perhaps a hundred yards from the Town Hall, there is a great banner which informs all and sundry that "Freedom is the most precious possession of mankind".

Saxony—a Police State

The "Unity" Party is in power in Saxony; it can do as it likes without let or hindrance, but for those who disagree with it there is precious little freedom. In this bulwark of the progressive new-type democracies the Government has dug up an old law passed in the darkest days of the reaction after the crushing of the Dresden May insurrection in 1850 to serve as a legal pretext for the arrest of political opponents on a grand scale. It is very easy for the incautious citizen to find himself in the hands of the police in Saxony—not to speak of the Russian N.K.V.D. The old safeguard of the freedom of the citizen, the regulation that a prisoner shall not be held for more than twenty-four hours before being brought before a magistrate, who shall decide whether there is proper cause to keep him any longer under arrest, is not popular in the bolshevist democracies, and in Saxony, more than any other Bolshevist State in the Eastern Zone, the notorious old custom of keeping a man indefinitely in so-called "protective arrest" has been revived on a mass scale. The police cells and the prisons are full of opponents of the regime, and in addition there are so-called "custody camps" near Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz which are also full. A special "custody camp" for "incorrigible absentees and workshys" has been opened in Zwickau.

The Labour Office issues the arrest warrant, and the case is tried by a committee attached to the Labour Office, consisting of the prosecutor, a judge and two jurymen. Order No. 3 of the Control Council, formerly the highest authority in Germany, according to which no citizen may be deprived of his liberty except on the basis of normal legal procedure, is deliberately ignored in bolshevist Saxony.

One or two examples will show clearly enough the state of civil liberty under bolshevist ægis. A departmental chief at the Grimma Food Office, named Hans Klos, was arrested by the Russians for unknown reasons and held for three weeks. He was then taken back to his house by the investigating attorney, Meyer, and instructed not to leave it until he received permission. Incidentally, this Meyer had conducted his examination of Klos with a six-chambered revolver in a prominent position on his desk. The case came to the notice of the Central Legal Administration in Berlin, and, in reply to a request for information on the subject, the Saxon Attorney-General, Dr. Schroeder, who has since died, replied that Meyer had not imposed house arrest on Klos in his capacity as a court official, but as the agent of the occupying Power and at its instructions. Apparently to meet the objections of the Central Legal Department that there was no legal basis for house arrest, Klos was then re-arrested and taken into Russian custody.

Things are bad enough elsewhere in the Eastern Zone, but in Saxony there is practically a police dictatorship. The courts are deliberately ignored, and constantly attacked in the "Unity" Press, which enjoys virtually a monopoly of newspaper circulation. A fierce campaign is conducted against "the reactionary judges", primarily on the pretext that they are not severe enough with black marketeers and spivs. Acquittals or light sentences are greeted with a howl of indignation, and everything possible is done to discredit the courts in the eyes of the masses. The rulers of Saxony are anxious to abolish the last vestiges of judicial independence, and, in addition, this campaign helps to distract the attention of hungry people from the fact that much of their suffering is caused by the constant export of foodstuffs to the Soviet Union. At the same time this controlled Press has nothing at all to say about the wholesale and notorious black-market activities of innumerable representatives of the occupying Power.

It is not easy for a judge or magistrate to administer the law justly in Saxony. Many of them who have made themselves unpopular have been dismissed, and some have "disappeared without trace". The following case is typical of many others. A Saxon Landrat confiscated three horses belonging to a former Nazi. The man employed

a lawyer to apply for an injunction against the seizure until the case could come up for hearing. The court granted the injunction. But then "political justice" took a hand in the game. The judge was dismissed from the bench, and the lawyer was not only struck off the rolls, but also arrested and sent to the salt-mines. When the case was brought to the attention of Dr. Melsheimer, Vice-President of the Central Legal Administration and a special confidant of the Central Soviet Military Authority in Karlshorst, he declared: "The action taken is quite in order. We cannot protect judges and magistrates who are unable to read the signs of the times correctly."

Judges and magistrates in Saxony enjoy no independence at all where the Russian occupation authorities are concerned, and the latter often directly instruct them what sentences to pass, what fines to impose, and so on. On one occasion I was approached by a judge in a small Saxon town and asked what he should do in view of the fact that the local Russian Commander demanded that he should impose a series of fines, some of them very heavy, on a number of people for minor infringements of the economic regulations. To have ignored the orders of the Commandant would have been dangerous, for in cases of "disobedience" the Russians arrest the offender at once, so I advised him to lay the case formally before the Ministry of Justice in Dresden in order to cover himself in the matter.

Responsible officials are just as much subject to arbitrary Russian interference, and if they do not jump obediently at the first crack of the Russian whip, their fate is sealed. The President of the Saxon Provincial Bank, Degenhardt, who occupied the same position from 1921 to 1933, when he was dismissed by the Nazis, was again dismissed in 1947, this time by the Russians for "sabotage of the orders of the occupation authority". Proceedings were begun against him, and he saved himself from arrest only by flight from the Russian Zone. Dr. Konkolevsky, of the Saxon Ministry of Land and Forestry, was not so lucky; he was arrested at once and charged with "sabotage of the land-reform plan". The warrant for his arrest was produced three weeks afterwards. An attempt was made to blacken his character by declaring that he had been an active S.S. leader under the Nazis, but in fact he had never belonged to any Nazi organization, and had been in a concentration camp for a time owing to his opposition to the Nazi regime.

A typical example of what can happen to German officials if they do not enjoy the wholehearted approval of the Russian authorities can be seen from the case of Vice-Landrat Beda of Grimma. On February 1st, 1946, the Russian occupation authorities in Dresden announced that an inquiry into the carrying out of the plans for autumn sowings and winter ploughings in the Grimma district had

revealed the fact that the Landrat, Dr. Zander, and his assistant, Beda, had deliberately made false returns. Beda was also said to have prevented the punctual delivery of agricultural produce and to have agitated amongst the peasants to bring about the non-fulfilment of their delivery obligations.

"I order Dr. Friedrich, President of the Provincial Administration," wrote Major-General Dubrovski, "to remove Dr. Zander from his post at once, to bring Beda to trial for sabotaging the instructions of the S.M.A. and for making lying reports, and to warn all Landraete that in future in all such cases the responsible persons will be court-martialled. The military commandants of all districts will strictly supervise the carrying out of these orders."

Dr. Zander was thereupon removed from his post, and the unfortunate Beda was brought to trial and sentenced to ten months imprisonment, although it is quite clear that if the charges against him had been even partially true it would have cost him his life. The Public Prosecutor appealed against the sentence as being too light, declaring that in November and December 1945 Beda had deliberately ignored repeated telegraphic and telephonic instructions to report on the course of the autumn sowings and the winter ploughings. And, further, that he had reported the area sown as 22,908 hectares, whereas in reality it had proved to be only 21,448 hectares. Perhaps his greatest crime of all was the charge that at a meeting of the Mayors of the district he had "ironically" declared that the instructions of the S.M.A. were impossible of fulfilment.

In his defence Beda insisted that he had made all his reports at the proper time, and declared that they must have been mislaid by someone in the central administration. He cited witnesses to prove that such things constantly happened. However, the court decided that in all circumstances he should have seen to it that his reports reached the proper authorities. Beda also provided a credible explanation of the discrepancy in his report of the number of hectares sown. With regard to the charge that he had "ironically" disputed the possibility of carrying out the instructions of the S.M.A., Beda pointed out that the only evidence to support it was that of a Russian who neither spoke nor understood German properly.

However, once the S.M.A. has its knife into a man he is lost, and the Court of Appeal increased the sentence to three years imprisonment, on the ground that offences like that of the accused were calculated to undermine the confidence of the Soviet Military Authority in the German administrative authorities. Fortunately everything is being done in Saxony to remove all possible ground for mistrust on the part of the Russians. In May 1947 the last Landrat who had formerly been a member of the Social Democratic Party

was removed from his post. The remainder are all fine fellows enjoying the confidence of the "Unity" Party and the Russians.

Mayor Petzold of Saupersdorf is one of them. Obviously with a view to strengthening the confidence of the Russians, he arranged a little party for Russian officers of the local garrison in the house of a lady friend, and persuaded a number of young girls to attend. As the vodka flowed in streams the affair developed into an orgy and came to public notice, particularly as a seventeen-year-old girl of previously irreproachable character was subsequently found to be pregnant. Petzold's lady friend came before the court on a charge of "procuring", and was fined. Petzold himself got off scot free, apart from a rebuke from the Judge. He is still in office.

It is clear that severity is only for unfortunates like Beda, who do not hold the right party card. Those who do, like Petzold, can reckon on the greatest possible latitude, but even then there are limits.

In May 1945 a man named Fiedler, with a whole series of convictions against him for various criminal offences, was appointed commissarial Mayor for the commune of Pennrich by the Communist Party. Within two months of his taking office eleven charges of defalcation and gross abuse of his authority were lodged against him. However, the "Unity" Party still covered him, and all the charges were dismissed, allegedly for lack of evidence. Whereupon Fiedler took courage and filed an application, as "a loyal party man and class-conscious Communist", to have his long series of previous convictions erased from the official records. This was a little too much, and the application was rejected. In 1946 Fiedler was again in trouble, but again the Public Prosecutor quashed the proceedings against him, though this time he had to resign his office.

Another creature of the same kidney was a man named Albert, who, thanks to his knowledge of Russian, was made Mayor of Falkenberg. During his term of office he so grossly abused his authority that public opinion was aroused. No proceedings were taken against him, but he was transferred to Grossthiemig, where he naturally continued his disreputable career. Here the exploit which finally caused his dismissal—though no charge was made against him—was his arrest of a married couple named Neumann. He kept them in prison for some time, and then expelled them from the district, having in the meanwhile seized their house and all their possessions. Though he was penniless when he began his "political career" the proceeds of his depredations soon enabled him to buy a public-house in Grossthiemig, where he now lives withdrawn from public life.

The list of rogues and criminals who have held, and in many cases still hold, office under the regime of the "Unity" Party is a long one.

There is Landrat Oles of Grossenhain. He was not so fortunate as Albert, and he was sent to prison for embezzlement and the forgery of official documents. The head of his "Political Department", a man named Wachsmuth, was sent to prison for housebreaking. Karl Keller, who was supposed to be a victim of Fascism and to have spent eight years in a concentration camp, turned out to have thirty-two previous convictions for theft, fraud, forgery and obtaining money under promise of marriage. This came out when it was once again necessary to send him to prison, this time for robbery, embezzlement of official funds, blackmail and black-market activities.

When the head of the Food Office in Dresden was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for his numerous offences in office, it was discovered that he had been convicted for various criminal offences on eighteen occasions.

Five officials of the Saxon provincial administration had to be sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for criminal offences in office. The chief offender was Kurt Peters of the "Unity" Party, who had stolen large quantities of cloth.

Chief Councillor Dirnberger was in charge of the campaign against corruption in Zwickau. Thanks to his activities, quite a number of employers were brought to trial and had their businesses, factories, etc., confiscated for various underhand machinations. But unfortunately the chief of the anti-corruption campaign was himself discovered to be in possession of a secret and illegal store of textile goods, including 200,000 metres of shirting. However, no criminal proceedings were taken against him.

Walter Kiessling, in charge of the distribution of food-cards, and a man with several previous convictions, was brought to trial and sentenced to eighteen months hard labour for embezzlement. Martin Brueggen, Mayor of Colwitz-Perita, was arrested and charged with blackmail, theft and the illegal possession of arms. Councillors Knoch, Lorenz and Bergold were all sentenced to short terms of imprisonment for stealing foodstuffs.

To sum up, the corruption amongst the Communist Mayors of Saxony is so widespread and so notorious that by February 1946 no fewer than forty of them had had to be dismissed for criminal offences.

Prison Conditions in Saxony

The number of prisoners who die whilst under arrest or in prison in Saxony is extremely high. This led Dr. Gentz, of the Central Legal Administration, a well-known authority on prison conditions even in the days of the Weimar Republic, and a man of confirmed democratic and humanitarian convictions, to suggest, in April 1947 at a meeting of Public Prosecutors in the Eastern Zone, that, owing

to the lack of facilities for medical attention in prison compared with former days, the proper authorities should release seriously ill prisoners before the expiry of their sentences, as otherwise their sentences would be transformed through no fault of their own into death sentences. However, this aroused the indignation of the representative of the Legal Department of the Central Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.D.), Lieutenant-Colonel Yakupov, and therefore nothing came of the proposal. The death rate continues to be abnormally high, and it is impossible to get any reply from the Saxon Government to any questions concerning deaths in prison.

However, sometimes the "Unity" people can be very much concerned about "humanitarianism". On May 6th, 1947, the Soviet officious *Taegliches Rundschau*, published in Berlin, contained a sharp attack on the director of Saxon prisons, Dr. Marwitz, who, it alleged, frequently talked high-sounding phrases about humanitarianism and brotherly love, but did nothing to improve conditions in the prison for juvenile offenders in Hoheneck, which, according to the *Taegliches Rundschau*, "are a mockery of the requirements of our age". A responsible post such as the Directorship of Prisons should not be in the hands of a conscienceless person like Dr. Marwitz, but in the hands of "a progressive-minded humanitarian personality such as we have in the person of the only female public prosecutor in the Soviet Zone, Frau Dr. Kroschel of Leipzig". And then followed a hymn of praise in favour of Frau Dr. Kroschel.

The background of this sudden and extremely unconvincing interest in humanitarianism was a squabble behind the scenes in the anti-Fascist block concerning various appointments following on the death of the Attorney-General, Dr. Schroeder. A number of positions were at stake, and the "Unity" Party was particularly anxious to get rid of Dr. Marwitz, who belongs to the Christian Democratic Union, and replace him by one of its own nominees, the Communist, Frau Dr. Kroschel. Hence the sudden zeal for humanitarianism. Incidentally we owe to this same newspaper our knowledge of the fact that the Director of the Labour Office in Reichenbach seriously proposed that juvenile offenders, labour absentees, etc., should have their heads shaved, be put in clogs and paraded through the town every day "as an example".

It is becoming more and more difficult to notice any difference between the methods formerly used by the Nazis and those now used by the Communists in the Eastern Zone. Following the example of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, on September 26th, 1946, the Saxon Diet passed a law, declaring that no further prosecutions should be instituted for offences committed in the period from the collapse up to September 1st, 1946, provided that they had been

committed in the interests of public well-being or in the execution of public authority, which means that this amnesty applies only to Communist offenders and extends even beyond what have become known as "the wild times" immediately after the collapse.

A Caricature of Socialization

Under the protection of Russian bayonets, a great change has taken place in property relations in the Eastern Zone, particularly in Saxony. A people's referendum held in Saxony decided on the expropriation and nationalization without compensation of all large-scale industrial and commercial undertakings owned by war criminals or by any persons who had been active Nazis. However, the practical execution of this decision reveals that far more than the expropriation of war criminals and active Nazis is aimed at. In reality the "Unity" Party is striving to get control of all the decisive levers of economic power. The "Unity" Party had hardly been founded when the Economic Minister, Selbmann, instructed his Communist friends to draw up lists of all industrial and other undertakings "suitable" for taking into public possession and to submit them to him "confidentially". Whether such undertakings were owned by war criminals or by former active Nazis or not made no difference whatever. In addition to this "socialization" scheme, a campaign was launched in March 1947 for the "municipalization" of smaller undertakings.

Expropriation in each case is decided by a committee consisting of representatives of the three block parties, the Free German Trade Unions and the Government, and as the "Unity" Party has a majority on such committees, it can do practically what it likes. If the members of the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party make trouble in any particular case, the "Unity" Party, with the assistance of the Works Council, immediately begins an agitation in the undertaking concerned. The employees are brought together, and a resolution is passed calling on the authorities to "socialize" the works. The expropriation committee is then "unable to go against the wishes of the people", and the expropriation is decided on. However, not even this trick always works. In the case of a chocolate factory in Doebeln, whose directors had always been well known for their keen interest in the well-being of their employees, the agitation met with a sharp rebuff. Called together to pass the resolution in favour of expropriation, the employees voted with an overwhelming majority against it. The very next day the chairman of the works council was expelled from the "Unity" Party.

In all, 1,002 undertakings employing approximately 170,000

people and having a turnover of 572 million marks were taken over in the first six months of 1946 by the Saxon Government, and a further 278 undertakings were handed over to municipalities, co-operatives and other "Anti-Fascist" organizations, whilst 379 smaller undertakings were put up for sale. Subsequently about 174 other undertakings were confiscated under one pretext or the other.

The Ministry of Economics and Economic Planning has organized all these new State undertakings into various industrial administrations, of which there are sixty-four at the moment, whose task is to secure the uniform development of production, to arrange for raw-material supplies, machinery and tools, to allocate labour power, organize the business management, arrange for finance and control production. Each of these industrial administrations has a Controlling Board consisting of representatives of the various undertakings, elected by secret ballot by members of the Works Council, in agreement with the district committee of the "Unity" trade-union organization. This Controlling Board has a say in the appointment and dismissal of leading personnel, it receives the accounts and it supervises the carrying out of the plan. The blanket organization is the Central Administration of Thuringian State Undertakings in Dresden, which has branch offices in various places. These branch offices are the legal owners of the undertakings. The Central Administration is under the control of the Ministry of Economics and Economic Planning, and it is run by a General Directorial Board appointed by the Government and advised by an Administrative Board consisting of three representatives of the Government, three representatives of the leading personnel, three representatives of the "Unity" trade-union organization and two representatives of the Works Councils. A Central Committee for Industrial Statistics has been formed to provide the basis for business calculations. Over these Saxon economic organs stands the Zonal Administration formed in Berlin by the Central Soviet Military Authority. Naturally, the Diets in the various Laender in the Eastern Zone have no influence on this body. Its task is the uniform planning, direction and control of industry and commerce in accordance with the instructions of the Central Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.D.) in Karlshorst.

All in all it is a complicated and cumbrous apparatus. It works with difficulty and to the accompaniment of much friction. By reason of its own inertia, it is calculated to stifle all productive, economic and technical initiative and to develop into a rigid bureaucracy, regarding itself as an end rather than a means. It controls an industrial and commercial complex representing over a milliard marks capital. To make matters worse, the new directors of these

confiscated undertakings are appointed for political reasons, and not on the basis of technical knowledge and experience. It was therefore not long before very heavy working losses began to make themselves felt. The disastrous effect on the economic system in general is aggravated by the fact that this new industrial complex receives favoured treatment in the supply of raw materials, machinery and so on, and in the allocation of labour power, with the result that the undertakings still in private possession are being slowly paralysed.

This new State-owned industrial complex in Saxony is already suffering from all the bureaucratic evils which hamper industry in the Soviet Union. But in the one case as in the other, the authorities can find no remedy, because the evils are part and parcel of the system itself. For instance, workers' boots are ordered and children's shoes are delivered, or clothing is ordered and swim-trunks or cotton gloves are supplied. How bad things had rapidly become may be judged from the fact that the Liberal Democratic Party actually plucked up sufficient courage to come out openly in favour of gradually restoring the confiscated undertakings to private hands, and in October 1947 the Liberal Democratic member of the Saxon Diet, Dr. Mueller-Bernhard, put forward a motion calling for control of the new undertakings by the Diet, equal treatment for undertakings still in private hands in the matter of raw-material supplies and taxation, individual balances instead of group balances which defied all public control, and the gradual disbanding of the State concern.

As might have been expected, the result was an organized campaign by the "Unity" Party against "the underhand machinations of the Reaction". "Indignation meetings" were held all over Saxony (no fewer than a thousand in the Chemnitz district alone), at which, after a short speech condemning "the reaction", a previously prepared resolution was read out and "unanimously" adopted. A request at a meeting of the employees of the Chemnitz electricity works for a secret ballot was, of course, rejected.

"Soviet Joint-Stock Companies" and Dismantling

The Soviet Joint-Stock Companies in Saxony represent at least as powerful an industrial combination as the State-controlled undertakings. This combination has been prized out of the German economic system and established as a separate unit controlled and administered under Russian ægis from Berlin. Its only connection with the German economic system is that its undertakings use German raw materials and German labour power, with the minor exception that some of the raw materials—for instance, cotton—are brought in

from the Soviet Union, but so far not on a very big scale. A number of such undertakings were handed over to the Saxon State, but part of their production goes to reparations account—for instance, apart from repairs, most of the carriages produced in the railway-coach yards are of the Russian type.

These undertakings under Soviet control are now a foreign body in the industrial structure of Germany. They consist of the most valuable plant, largely key works, and they give the Soviet authorities a powerful lever which enables them to interfere constantly in German economic life. In addition, the dismantling operations, which have been officially reported as "at an end" on a number of occasions by the officious Soviet Press, are being continued ruthlessly, without consideration for the needs of German industry. The loss of coal-mines and power-stations is a particularly heavy blow to Saxon industry. Quite recently mines in Gross-Zossen, Neukirchen-Borna, Regis-Breitingen and Espenhain have had all their machinery taken away, and the same has happened at the big power-stations Hirschfelde, near Zittau, and Boehlen, near Leipzig. The accumulating plant at Niederwartha, near Dresden, has been entirely dismantled. The coal-briquette works around Leipzig have lost all their modern presses and moulds and all their winding machinery. The works railway equipment which brought the coal from the pits to the manufacturing points has also been taken away. Even undertakings expropriated by virtue of the people's referendum "in the interests of socialization" have not been spared by the Russians. The Hochfrequenz Works in Radeberg, a Saxon branch of the Berlin firm of Lorenz A.G., was dismantled in the spring of 1947. The Saxon Erz A.G., which worked tin mines in Altenberg and Geising and provided German industry with high-quality tin and wolfram and gave a livelihood to many workers in the neighbourhood, has lost everything except the water conduits; even the winding machinery, the overhead transport system and the cages have gone. After the dismantling the Russians generously presented the skeleton to the towns of Altenberg and Geising. The most important metallurgical, tool-making, electrical and radio works and great sections of the textile industry have also been ruthlessly dismantled and everything taken away, including not only machinery and raw materials, but also all drawings, patents and licences. Even roofing, heating equipment, telephone systems, and toilet installations were removed. The big Saxon saw-mills have lost all their modern machinery, including their power installation. Factories making furniture, many of which owed their reopening to the initiative of the workers themselves, were also stripped. The typewriter works of Siedel and Neumann in Dresden, which had been brought into

operation again after the collapse by the employees themselves, was also not spared. Undismayed, the Works Council managed to secure sufficient machinery to start up again after the dismantling, and then they had all they could do to persuade the Russians not to dismantle a second time.

In the little town of Glashuette in the Erzgebirge all watch factories and fine-mechanical workshops fell victim to dismantling. Another victim was the Blanka works in Dippoldiswalde. All these are cases taken from the latest wave of dismantling.

Thanks to "socialization", dismantling, and the formation of Soviet joint-stock companies, the whole structure of Saxon industry has been changed, and in consequence the economic situation is becoming desperate. This is, of course, not officially admitted, but from time to time the truth, or a part of the truth, leaks out. For instance, at a meeting of industrial managers and shop stewards in Chemnitz in May 1947 the Minister of Economics and Economic Planning, Selbmann, frankly admitted that there was a great danger that the whole of industry would have to shut down for lack of coal, as in April Saxony had received only 22 per cent of its requirements. Food and drink undertakings, the manufacturing industries and the building trade had received only 4 per cent. Coal supplies from the Ruhr district were just enough for the production of gas. The difficulties were particularly great in the engineering and optical industries. Iron and steel production had fulfilled only 70 per cent of the 1946 plan. As the proposal to start Sunday work in the pits proved technically impossible because the pits were sadly in need of repairs and could not stand a seven-day working week, Selbmann saw the only hope in imports of coal from Poland and steel from Czechoslovakia. According to him, 170,000 tons of coal and 670,000 tons of coke must be imported from Upper Silesia in the current year, and in all raw materials to a total value of 650 million marks if the wheels of industry are to be kept turning and complete collapse avoided.

Thus the result of two years working in bolshevist Saxony is summed up in the words of its own Economic Minister: deterioration of prime industrial substance; an acute lack of raw materials and fuel; a failure to fulfil the plan; and the threatening danger of complete collapse. But when the chairman of the Central Committee of the Russian industrial undertaking "Steinkohle" sent a congratulatory telegram to the conference of the Saxon industrial undertaking "Bergbau" "on the great successes achieved in the reconstruction of German industry on a democratic basis", there was nothing else for the delegates but to rise from their seats and burst into "spontaneous" cheering for the Soviet Union.

Reckless Economic Exploitation

Apart from the damage done to the economic system by ruthless dismantling and by the bureaucratization of the economic apparatus, there are other sinister factors at work. By the end of the war the greater part of Germany's industrial raw materials was stored in Saxony, as the safest part of the country, including in particular raw materials for heavy industry and the textile industry. When the Russians came in they confiscated it all and took it away without compensation. Such raw materials as were not taken out of the country were given back to Saxon industry for the production of goods for reparations account. In selling this material the Russians ignored the fixed prices of 1944, but they demanded that the reparations goods produced should be reckoned at 1944 prices. The result of this was that Saxon industry suffered new and severe losses.

According to the 1946 plan, 70 per cent of production was to go to reparations account, whilst the remaining 30 per cent was for domestic requirements. However, as the supply of raw materials was rapidly exhausted, and as the goods produced for reparations account had absolute priority, very little indeed remained over for domestic needs. On January 1st, 1947, Marshal Sokolovsky announced that in future the total production of the Saxon textile industry was to be devoted to German domestic requirements, but in consequence the burden of reparations deliveries weighs still more heavily on the heavy and engineering industries. In addition, the textiles produced do not all go to meet Germany's domestic requirements. A good part is taken by Russian export firms for despatch to Russia or for export abroad. Surplus agricultural produce in Saxony is also claimed as Russian property and is also sold abroad. For instance, the big sack-works in Netchkau are working exclusively for Russian requirements. Some of the reparations deliveries are also being sold abroad. As things stand, industry in Saxony is being compelled to sell a large proportion of its products at below cost price.

In order to create the impression that this export business is authentically German, the Russian authorities have formed companies directed by men of straw under their authority. For instance, the textile firm Fueting & Co., in Zoeblitz, the Export and Import Trading Co., in Dresden, the Limportex in Leipzig, and the Texta G.m.b.H. in Berlin. All these firms, which were unknown until quite recently, are merely a façade for the S.M.A.D.

Lack of experience and expert knowledge on the part of the improvised planners has often led to heavy losses. For instance, in Plauen large quantities of coloured lace were produced according to Japanese and South American designs, and then exported to Scan-

dinavian countries, where they were a complete failure because they were not in accordance with Scandinavian tastes. The losses were greatly increased by the fact that large quantities were stolen before the goods reached their destination. As insurance is paid only on losses sustained in Germany, and as the Russians were unable or unwilling to say where the losses occurred, the insurance companies refused compensation.

Another very considerable burden for industry in the Eastern Zone is the filling in and return of the innumerable forms demanded by the Russians for statistical purposes. On one occasion a building firm received a form at 11.40 one morning, together with the information that unless it was returned filled in by mid-day of that same day the firm would be reported to the S.M.A.D. On hurriedly studying the form, the firm found that it bore no relation to building operations at all. When this was immediately pointed out to the office which had distributed the forms, the firm was told: "Well, we haven't always time to read through these things when we get them, and we just distributed them to one or two firms, including yours."

The structure of industry and commerce in Saxony has been radically changed. An order was issued on March 25th, 1946, placing all raw and supplementary materials, old and new equipment, tools and machinery under the management of the Saxon Industriekontor, which now has complete control over all stocks and manages the whole export trade. A special Department for Trade and Supplies, under Government control—the Saechsische Handelszentrale G.m.b.H.—has been founded for trading purposes, with a special department for the co-operatives. The Autotransportgemeinschaft der Kraftverkehr Sachsen A.G. has been formed to include all the recognized transport companies and establish State control of transport. On August 19th, 1945, an order of the S.M.A.D. closed down credit institutions in the Eastern Zone. In Saxony the only credit institutions now operating are the Saxon Government Bank, the Co-operative Bank for Trade and Commerce, and the Official Savings Bank. The private insurance companies have been replaced by the State Insurance Institute in Dresden and the Social Insurance Fund for the Province of Saxony.

"*Land Reform*"

Agriculture is not predominant in Saxony, but it is carried on intensively, and the yield per hectare is higher than the average in East Elbia. However, despite the increase in acreage owing to the addition of certain Silesian frontier districts, the total yield has dropped since the end of the war. Just 515,000 hectares, or about 14 per cent of the arable land, have been distributed in the course

of the land-reform scheme. There has been no fundamental reorganization of landed-property relations. By the end of March 1947 approximately a million immigrants had come into the province, but only 6,713 persons (about 30,000 with families) have received land—namely, about 44,427 hectares out of a total distributed area of 290,000 hectares. 55,382 hectares went to the towns and 32,294 to the rural municipalities. Town and country municipalities and the Peasants Mutual Aid Association all became big landowners. The intensity of agriculture declined, and in 1946 it was about a quarter less than the average even during the war years for grain and leguminous products. Compared with production in the last year before the war the decline is still greater, amounting to about two-fifths for grain and fodder beet.

This result was due in part to the reckless exploitation carried on during the war, the destruction of buildings, machinery and equipment, the neglect of repair work, the lack of spare parts and replacements, and the shortage of manures and fertilizers, draught animals and horses; but it was chiefly due to the way in which the land-reform scheme was carried out and the hopeless rigidity of "planned economy" as understood by the occupation authorities.

According to the land-reform law, all landed property in excess of 100 hectares, and all landed property formerly in the possession of officials of the Hitler Party and of all persons arrested, for whatever cause, by the occupation authorities, and irrespective of its size, became subject to redistribution. The opportunity afforded to denunciation, envy, hatred, revenge and greed can be imagined.

The local land-distribution committees were elected. Generally speaking, the chairman of the local committee was the Mayor or his representative; the Landrat was always the chairman of the District Committees. Poor peasants, landless peasants and land-workers were eligible for election to these committees, and the electorate was formed by the local and district peasant meetings.

The elections were dominated by the Communist Party, and only candidates whom it approved had any chance of election. After their experience under de-Nazification it must have appeared dangerous to the peasant population to express any other views than those propagated by the Communist Party. The result was that those who had jerrymandered the elections were subsequently able to share out the land amongst themselves and their friends. There were many applications for land from suitable candidates, but instead of adopting some fair method of distribution, such as the drawing of lots, the committees gave themselves and their friends the lion's share of the best land available The expert officials attached to the District Committees did their utmost to remedy these abuses, but

generally speaking they were unsuccessful because the Communist wire-pullers had their supporters in the provincial administration and enjoyed the backing of Secretary of State Wessel.

Thus the land-reform scheme was not conducted on democratic lines by democratic elections. It was distorted from the beginning by political considerations. Estates which had formerly been worked as units on rational and scientific lines were now parcelled out amongst the so-called "New" peasants in lots of five and six hectares. New approach roads had to be made and new borders established, with the result that the total arable area was reduced. The new occupiers then had to provide a certain quota of various kinds of produce, so that their small parcels of land had to be divided up again. The result was that these one-time rationally tilled big units were now divided up into smaller parcels, which were again divided up into still smaller parcels, each growing a separate crop. In addition, the new settlers, often with large families, were not experienced farmers, and some of them were quite incapable of learning. They lacked tools, equipment and cattle, and it often took them a very long time, despite the establishment of the Peasants Mutual Aid Association, before they could get started at all.

Peasants Mutual Aid Association is ostensibly "non-party," and it organizes all the peasants of a village, both "New" and "Old". In reality it is completely under Communist control and it is designed as the first stage towards the Soviet Kolkhoz or collective farm. It burdens the old-established peasants with very onerous obligations and deliberately makes things very difficult for them. In the name of peasant solidarity the "Old", and therefore better situated, peasants have to assist the "New" peasants by lending them horses, draught cattle, agricultural implements and machinery without charge, and also by helping them out with their own labour power. It can be imagined that such a system does not encourage the labour willingness of the "Old" peasants, who feel, quite rightly, that the newcomers are being unfairly favoured at their expense.

Quite generally, most of the difficulties which have cropped up during the carrying out of the land reform are not the result of inexperience, but are primarily due to the fact that the whole scheme is being carried out from a political angle in accordance with the needs of the Soviet Military Authority rather than in the interests of German agriculture. The Communist Party, now the "Unity" Party, is chiefly interested in the "New" peasants not as peasants but as a favourable basis for its political operations in the rural areas. But the scheme goes much farther than that. The wire-pullers are well aware that in all likelihood the land-reform scheme will fail and bring about a reduction in the yield of agriculture.

The failure is then to be turned to political account. The "New" peasants will be told that they are incapable of carrying on alone, and the "Old" will be charged with "sabotage". The stage will then be set for the expropriation of all peasant land and the introduction of the Soviet Kolkhoz or collective-farm scheme. The main task of the Peasants Mutual Aid Association is to pave the way for this. According to bolshevist doctrine the existence of a free peasantry inevitably involves the danger of a resuscitation of capitalist elements in the economic system, and therefore the complete abolition of the free peasantry is indispensable in the interests of the Bolshevist State.

Chaos in the Transport System

Formerly the transport system in Saxony was highly efficient, but in the two years of bolshevist dominance there has been a sad change. The Saxon State Railways have suffered badly from reparations dismantling. Many lines have been torn up altogether; important modern signalling and points equipment has been removed; and many locomotives, carriages and trucks have been taken away. The result is that operations have had to be greatly reduced. Those few trains which still run are packed beyond the safety limit; their speed is greatly reduced and time-tables are in a chaotic state. The Halle–Berlin run, which formerly took a fast train about two hours, now often takes six hours and more. The steam locomotives are designed to use hard coal, but now they have to use brown coal, with the result that they constantly have to stop on the open line to get up sufficient head of steam to move again. Travellers often have to spend the night on junction stations because owing to the late arrival of their trains they missed their connections. Repairs are greatly in arrears because of the difficulty of obtaining spare parts and replacements. Owing to the dismantling of big railway building works, such as Knorrbremse A.G., repair and replacement bottle-necks are hopeless. Rolling-stock is in a calamitous condition, and although the workers in repair and other railway shops have to work much longer than ever before, there is little they can do owing to the acute shortage of all materials.

The railway administration centres are strictly controlled by the Soviet Military Authority. The rigid and mechanical Soviet system operates on the railways in the Eastern Zone from the Central Administration in Berlin right down throughout the whole administration to the smallest local offices. All working reports have to be ready by six o'clock in the evening, and their prompt delivery is more important to the Russians than the efficient working of the railways. The objectives set by the Chief Transport Officer of the Central

Soviet Military Authority, General Kvashnin, have to be fulfilled —on paper, at least—come what may, even if the whole railway system is turned upside down.

In fact the system is in chaos. During the summer of 1947 so many changes were made in the times of departure and the list of stopping places of through trains that one correction after the other had to be issued. It has become a matter of pure luck whether an inquirer can obtain any reliable official information about the times of departure, connections, and so on. Then, the number of unforeseen incidents leading to delays has increased enormously owing to arbitrary interference on the part of the Russians, not only of the Russian authorities, but also of individual Russian Commanders, and even soldiers. If a Russian wants to get out of a train at a point where the train is not scheduled to stop, he just pulls the communication cord. If the Russians happen to want a locomotive, they merely requisition the nearest one, and if that is the locomotive of a train about to leave, that is just too bad, and the train stays in the station until another one can be found. In Stendhal, for instance, it happens constantly: locomotives on German trains are uncoupled and attached to Russian transports on their way to Czechoslovakia, or to Russian goods-trains. The passengers in the German trains are left stranded.

At one time there was a very efficient coach service overland, but hardly anything remains of it to-day because the Russians have confiscated most of the coaches, and it is almost impossible to get tyres and petrol, lubricating oils and spare parts. There are very few private cars on the roads for the same reason, and, in addition, private owners who use their cars risk having them confiscated by any uniformed Russian Tom, Dick or Harry.

The postal system in the Eastern Zone has not escaped the general chaos. The one-time model German postal service is no more. Letters are opened by the censor, and the delays incurred are so long that many letters get lost. Letters from Berlin to the provinces, which were usually delivered the following day, now take anything from a week to a month before they arrive—if they ever arrive at all.

Evidence of Dissatisfaction

A conglomeration of unfavourable, even disastrous, circumstances has ruined the economic system of Saxony: war damage, post-war exhaustion, the interference of the occupation authorities, confiscation and dismantling, the break-up of long-standing relations and the fundamental upheaval in property relations carried out primarily for political reasons, are the main factors which have led to chaos and the verge of breakdown. The population lacks even the necessi-

ties of life, and the distribution of food is so inefficient that populations of the bigger towns suffer severely. The official rations are insufficient, and even then the distribution is frequently months in arrears, and very often food of lower nutritional value than that officially provided for in the rations is distributed instead. For instance, in Leipzig in June 1947 there was to have been a distribution of potatoes, but instead the population was given about a quarter of a pound of asparagus per head and a slightly larger quantity of potato flour. During the Leipzig Autumn Fair supplies improved considerably, but that was only because the many foreign visitors had to be persuaded that all was well with the rationing system. As soon as the Fair was over and the visitors had departed, all the old difficulties and delays returned at once, especially with regard to sugar and fats.

The potato shortage in particular causes great discontent, because people know that large quantities of potatoes are going to the distilleries for the production of spirits (schnapps). Unfairness in distribution is a further source of bitterness. It is not merely a question of black-market activities; a whole vast privileged stratum of high officials and members of the "Unity" Party has been created. The fortunate members of it enjoy supplementary supplies, whilst everyone who is compelled to live on the official rations is under-nourished. The authorities try to divert this discontent by passing severe laws against black-market activities, including even the death sentence, but such legislation is not very effective, and it certainly does little to improve the situation of the under-nourished townsfolk. The Russian authorities occasionally point out that Russian prisoners of war in Germany got even less food, and the German population should therefore be content with whatever the S.M.A. is kind enough to give it, but this only adds insult to injury.

The general discontent is so great that despite swift intervention by the occupation troops—always very quick on the trigger—and the threat of a long term in Siberia, there have been a number of strikes and food demonstrations. There were also tumults in Leipzig in the summer of 1947, when an epidemic of typhus, which the authorities did their best to hush up, caused 1,200 deaths, and the bodies were buried wrapped in oilskin paper. Such outbreaks are a significant indication of the general volume of dissatisfaction, for normally dissatisfaction has no chance of expressing itself under repressive systems. In the Eastern Zone to-day all that is necessary is to get into conversation with individuals, and it is not long before the true feelings of the great majority of the people concerning the occupation authorities and their tools of the "Unity" Party can be discovered. Of course, as in all terrorist-ruled countries, people are

careful; they first look to left and right and sum up their interlocutor shrewdly before they open their mouths.

The masses have to contend not only with the Russian N.K.V.D. but also with the secret police organised by the "Unity" Party. A German member of the secret police in Berlin told me that in all big food queues there was always a police spy to listen to what the waiting people said to each other. The German Central Administration of the Interior, as it is called, whose headquarters are in Berlin-Wilhelmsruh, works in the greatest possible secrecy and with the most modern means of detection and supervision. It is the pupil of its master, the N.K.V.D., and, like it, it is known by a seemingly harmless set of initials. The new organization is still in its infancy, but already it maintains a highly efficient supervision of the whole telephone service in the Eastern Zone.

It was this organization which dealt with visitors to the Leipzig Autumn Fair. They were met on the trains by secret service men who were ostensibly officials of the Fair, and who assisted them in filling up the various forms required. These forms were then closely scrutinized, and in order to facilitate the arrest of enemies of the bolshevist regime, visitors to the Fair were forbidden to change their quarters during their stay in Leipzig.

Social Democracy still enjoys mass support in Saxony, which was one of its strongholds in the old days of free speech and free elections, and it is therefore bitterly persecuted. The prisons and concentration camps are full of Socialists, a fact I was able to confirm for myself. Many Socialists are, of course, nominally members of the "Unity" Party, but only because they have to be. They pay their dues unwillingly, and long for the day when they will be free to follow their own political inclinations. Even amongst former Communists there are very many who have had their eyes thoroughly opened by the harsh realities of bolshevist domination. Many workers have confessed to me that they were ashamed of having no alternative but to pretend to support a clique of political frauds.

Not all the opposition is passive. There are organized resistance groups in being, and from time to time leaflets are distributed by clandestine means: "Why are the peoples starving? The officials are fat and well. Pieck and Grotewohl don't go hungry. They are playing ducks and drakes with your interests. Stalin has betrayed Socialism." Such is their general tendency. In addition to these leaflets, slogans against the "Unity" Party and the Russian authorities are found on house-walls and factories in the mornings. The masses of the people are particularly indignant at the way in which the "Unity" Party plays into the hands of the occupation authorities and betrays the interests of the inhabitants.

On one occasion I was talking to the Governor of a prison who had the reputation for being absolutely reliable and loyal to the "Unity" Party and the Soviet Military Authority. In confidence he complained to me that Russian officers often came into the prison, sometimes having drunk more than was good for them, and interfered with the prison routine, frequently accosting and rebuking warders in the presence of prisoners. I nodded, and said that during the twelve years I had spent in the Soviet Union I had had to get used to a great deal. At this his pent-up feelings burst out, and I was surprised at the bitterness and the hostility with which this alleged "party-line Communist" spoke of "the culture bearers from the East".

One of the chief anxieties of the population is the thought of what will happen to them when the last vestiges of relations with the West are broken off and the Eastern Zone is completely at the mercy of the Russians. The majority of the workers who welcomed the entry of the Red Army with joy have seen themselves bitterly disappointed, and they now long for the day on which they will really be free.

CHAPTER V

SAXE-ANHALT

WHILST THE province of Saxony has at least a heritage from other days of trained officials who have thoroughly mastered the technique of administration, the former Duchy of Anhalt, which has now been added to Saxony, is without experienced administrators, and in consequence the inevitable failings and abuses of the new regime weigh more heavily than ever on the administration. Corruption extends into the highest governmental, administrative and political circles. For instance, Ministerial Councillor Herpich is well known for the dinners he gives to his wide circle of friends, though he could not possibly do so from his official rations. His close colleagues, Chief Privy Councillor Keudel and Privy Councillor Stock, both members of the "Unity" Party, had to be arrested on a number of serious charges. The leader of the "Unity" Party organization amongst the employees of the provincial Government, a man named Puppe, was accustomed to go out every Sunday in his official car and return heavily laden with foodstuffs. This went on until he had to be dismissed for various offences which had become notorious. Chief Privy Councillor Berlep of the Halle Traffic Centre is a man with a number of convictions for housebreaking. Chief Privy Councillor Seehaber of the Provincial Department in Halle has served a term of hard labour for a criminal offence. Privy Councillor Kumpa of the Settlement Centre also has a series of previous convictions for criminal offences. These men are all leading "Communist" officials of the "New Democracy" established under Russian ægis.

Much of the disorganization of public life in the Eastern Zone is a heritage from the period immediately following the German collapse. When the Russian "Liberators" entered, the chaos was made worse confounded by the appearance of a horde of criminal and semi-criminal elements who gave themselves out as "Anti-Fascists" and "victims of Fascism" and merrily fished in the troubled waters. The following case is a good example of the sort of thing that was happening wherever the Russians took over:

At the beginning of May 1945 a certain Joseph Konrad, who had been brought up in the German equivalent of the Borstal School, and who already had a series of convictions for criminal offences, turned up in Niegripp, near Burg on the Elbe, and offered

his services to the local Russian Commandant, Captain Gerasimov, declaring that he had just escaped from a Nazi concentration camp in which he had been imprisoned for his Communist activities. Captain Gerasimov immediately appointed him "Political Police Chief and Mayor" of Niegripp, gave him a loaded pistol, placed a patrol of five soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant, at his disposal and instructed him to arrest and execute the leading Nazis of Niegripp. Together with his accomplice, Walter Kraft, a waiter by profession, who also had a series of previous convictions for theft, and who no more knew the local circumstances than did Konrad himself, Konrad set off to perform the task Captain Gerasimov had entrusted him with. He "arrested" a number of men, most of them elderly, and shot a teacher named Seewald, a book-keeper named Dehne, a peasant named Fabian and a farm labourer named Helmich. The corpses were found later just outside the village where the "execution" had taken place. Konrad robbed the body of Seewald of a gold watch, and all the bodies of whatever cash they had on them.

After this heroic performance Konrad fled to his own town, Detmold. However, his crimes began to catch up with him, and in June 1946, at the instructions of the Public Prosecutor's Department in Magdeburg, the Detmold Court issued a warrant for his arrest on a charge of four-fold murder. But, before he could be brought to trial, further instructions arrived from Magdeburg quashing the indictment, and he was released. The Central Legal Administration in Berlin took up the case and tried to bring Konrad to trial, but its efforts were of no avail. Konrad had murdered at Russian orders. He was immune from prosecution.

Another "Anti-Fascist" of the same kidney was Willi Zippert. In April 1945 he turned up in Miesterhorst, where, with the story that he had been five years in concentration camps for political offences, he secured enrolment as an auxiliary policeman. In this role he maltreated and robbed released German soldiers. Towards the end of 1945 he appeared in Gardelegen, where he drove a car for the N.K.V.D. In Gardelegen he had to fill in the usual questionnaire. When it was returned he learned from the local political commissar—the far from proletarian Erich von Meissner—that the local leader of the "victims of Fascism" organization, a man named Fentzling, had returned the form with the note "Not a political but a criminal inmate of a concentration camp".

Zippert was furious at this untimely exposure of his true antecedents, and he drove straight away to Latzlingen, where Fentzling was in hospital, having just undergone a serious operation, went to the head doctor and told him that he had come to arrest Fentzling

at the instructions of the Political Commissar, von Meissner. Without asking Zippert for any credentials, the head doctor called in the surgeon who had operated on Fentzling to ask whether in his opinion the latter could be moved without danger. Zippert did not wait for for the surgeon's decision, but marched into the ward where Fentzling was lying and made a violent scene, abusing and threatening the sick man. No doubt as a result of this shock Fentzling's condition grew rapidly worse, and he died a few weeks later.

This was by no means Zippert's only offence. He was proved to have infected a number of women with gonorrhœa by intercourse at a time when he knew that he was suffering from it himself, and in one case he had enticed a girl to his room and raped her. He came up for trial in Magdeburg in January 1947, and was sentenced to the very light term of sixteen months imprisonment for rape. With regard to the charges of maltreating German soldiers in his official capacity as an auxiliary policeman, he defended himself by saying that he had beaten up only Nazis, a thing which, as a former inmate of a concentration camp, he might be excused for doing. The court apparently agreed with him, for he was acquitted.

Proceedings against Former Nazis

The following two cases indicate that the nemesis which is supposed to overtake former Nazis is not always as efficient or just in its operations as it might be. In August 1945 a lawyer named Prodehl, of Burg, near Magdeburg, was arrested on a charge of having concealed the fact in a sworn statement that he had been a member of the Nazi Party. Prodehl had, in fact, applied for membership of the Nazi Party, but his application had been turned down before he received his membership book, on the ground that his general attitude was "Liberalist" and that there was little likelihood that he would ever make a good National Socialist. He had been a member of one or two auxiliary Nazi organizations, but had been expelled from them for "indiscipline and lack of interest". In short, the investigation showed clearly that although Prodehl had tried to provide himself with a party card as camouflage after Hitler's accession to power, he had never been a Nazi by conviction, and certainly never a member of the Nazi Party.

However, he was not released. Instead another matter was brought up against him. As a member of the Nazi Drivers Corps he had been ordered by the police in Burg to lend his car for the transport of a Communist named Weiss from Oebisfelde to Burg. In order to ensure that his car was not damaged, Prodehl drove it himself. On the way back from Oebisfelde the Communist Weiss was badly beaten up by the accompanying S.S. A man named Zittlau, who

had been a member of the Communist Party for many years, gave evidence on behalf of Prodehl, declaring that when Weiss was put into the cell in which he, Zittlau, was already held, Weiss, who was covered with blood from his injuries, had said: "It was a bit of luck for me that Prodehl was there; otherwise they'd have finished me off altogether."

In the meantime Weiss himself had died. There were no witnesses against Prodehl and no evidence that he had done anything but drive the car under police orders. However, he was still kept under arrest. Six months later, on February 26th, 1946, he was brought before the examining magistrate. When inquiries were made on his behalf, the Public Prosecutor, Alexander, in Magdeburg declared: "We have to be careful in this case, because we don't yet know the views of the Kommandantur". In March, after many, many months spent in prison despite serious heart trouble, Prodehl was finally released.

A veterinary surgeon named Hoffert had joined the Nazi Party in May 1933, and remained a member of it until the collapse. In September 1945 he was dismissed from his municipal post in Osterburg as a former Fascist by the Magdeburg District President. Hoffert contended that he had been denounced by a fellow employee of the local authority, a man named Schermer, who had also been a member of the Nazi Party and had dealt with Gestapo matters at the local court. This sort of mutual denunciation is typical. Hoffert's house was requisitioned, and he was expelled from the town of Osterburg. He went to Kossebau, and re-started his practice there, but at the end of January 1946 he and his family were again expelled. In Osterburg, Hoffert lost his home; in Kossebau his instruments and everything relating to his profession were also confiscated. The Central Administration for Public Hygiene in Berlin took up the case, and a long correspondence followed with the provincial administration in Halle, which ended on April 30th, 1947, with a letter from Halle admitting that the records were in such a state of confusion that they could find out nothing definite about the matter, and were therefore unable to take any action.

Summary Jurisdiction with Hand-picked Jurors

After the collapse the quiet little town of Osterburg was one of those many places in the Eastern Zone which fell under the control of the Communist Party. The new Landrat, a man named Reckenberg, was ably supported by two assistants, named Schermer and Bolle. Schermer had been an agent of the Gestapo under Hitler, and was now in a position to continue his profession as an agent of the N.K.V.D. Bolle was a notorious drunkard who was placed in

charge of the local land-reform scheme. He did exactly as he liked, with a complete disregard for any rules or regulations.

In November 1946 the local court, under the presidency of Judge Oehme, sentenced seventeen farmers in five days to a total of over sixty-five years imprisonment for not fulfilling their delivery quotas. As is often the case in the Eastern Zone, the jurymen were not chosen by lot, as the law requires, but were picked men, one of them a policeman. One of the victims of this quick-fire justice was a seventy-six-year-old pensioned professor of the High School for Agriculture, who was managing the farm of his son-in-law, and had not succeeded in delivering his full quotas of grain and potatoes. In his defence he pointed out that he had not taken over the management of the farm until several weeks after the spring sowings had begun, but the court ignored this, and declared when it sentenced him to four years imprisonment that but for his advanced age and his previous clean record he would have received a much heavier sentence, "particularly as the accused must have known that by his attitude he was putting the whole German administration into an awkward position and endangering the harmonious co-operation with the occupying authorities".

A peasant with five children was charged with failing to fulfil his grain and pork quotas. He declared that he had been unable to thresh his grain in time because the leather driving-band of his machinery had broken and it had proved impossible to replace it. As far as his pig was concerned, owing to a lack of fodder it was too miserable to slaughter. Sentence: seven years imprisonment. An aggravating circumstance was that he had joined the Nazi Party in 1933.

Another peasant, of unblemished reputation, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for fulfilling his quota too late.

A peasant woman of sixty-one was sentenced to five years imprisonment for being considerably behind her quota deliveries of grain and potatoes. She pointed out that her farm was run by a bailiff, but the court decided that she had interfered with the bailiff and deliberately sought to undermine the new democratic State.

A fifty-two-year-old farmer received the same sentence, although it was clearly proved that he had left the management to a bailiff and had attended only to the financial side himself. The court declared that that circumstance made no difference to the fact that he had undermined the building up of the new democratic State and put the German administration into an awkward position towards the occupying Power, whose confidence it had previously enjoyed.

Another peasant was sentenced to two years imprisonment because, in the opinion of the court, he could have obtained by means

of exchange sufficient to permit him to fulfil his quotas, but had not bothered to do so. "His contention that bad weather robbed him of a great part of his grain may be true, but with a little good will he could have done far better than he did."

Another peasant, with a previously clean record, who had, however, been a member of the Nazi Party, was sentenced to six years imprisonment for "having endangered the food supply of the German people, made clear his lack of willingness to co-operate in the building up of the new democratic State, and deliberately undermined the confidence of the occupation authorities in the German administration".

A peasant woman who had not delivered sufficient grain, potatoes and vegetables was sentenced to four years imprisonment. She declared that owing to drought and lack of labour it had been impossible for her to fulfil her quotas. The court announced that it would regard the fact that she had lost her husband in the war and now had to manage the farm alone as an extenuating circumstance, but nevertheless her offence was so serious that a severe sentence was necessary.

Two other peasants were sentenced to eight years imprisonment each, the one because he had made no returns, "and thereby excluded himself from the community in its task of building up the new democratic State", and the other because he was "suspected" of illegal slaughterings, without which he would have been able to fulfil his quotas.

In all the seventeen sentences there was the stereotyped formula about endangering the confidence of the occupation authorities in the German administration. The background of this local storm of "summary jurisdiction" was that the District Commandant had summoned the Osterburg Landrat, Reckenberg, and reproached him because here and there the delivery quotas had not been fulfilled. Under this pressure the Landrat had called on the Osterburg court for speedy punishments against the neglectful peasants. At the same time the District Commandant had complained to the S.M.A. in Magdeburg about the "sabotage" being carried on by the peasants. The S.M.A. had upbraided the President of the High Court and demanded immediate action. The representatives of justice in Magdeburg had then got into touch with the court in Osterburg and given the judges to understand what would happen to them unless they speedily restored "the confidence of the authorities in the German administration". What followed was a swift judicial campaign against the unfortunate peasants to put matters right with the Russians.

The Osterburg judge was by no means satisfied with the brutal job

he had been instructed to do, and he sent copies of his judgments to the Legal Administration in Halle for comment. In the meantime news of the shocking sentences at Osterburg had reached members of Parliament in Halle. They knew that the indignation of the peasants at the bolshevist "planned economy" was already almost at bursting point, and all the three block parties feared that the affair would lose them rural votes in masses. The Attorney General was therefore instructed to revise the Osterburg sabotage verdicts and to order the release of the convicted men and women in the meantime. Thus the affair ended, having greatly enhanced the reputation of German justice and increased the love of the rural population for their liberators.

Russian Interference in German Administration

The interference of the occupation authorities in German administration goes very deep, and even affects ordinary technical procedure, the location of the courts and other similar matters. They are constantly seeking to re-fashion German institutions according to Soviet Russian models. In Soviet practice a Supreme Court is situated in the capital of a province, whilst a High Court is situated in the district administrative centre. Now, the High Court is situated in Halle and the Supreme Court in Naumburg. The S.M.A. therefore ordered that the former should be transferred to Merseburg and the latter to Halle. Everything was turned upside down whilst the two courts carried out the Russian orders. In the case of the Supreme Court the move to Halle was perhaps not a bad thing, but the moving of the High Court from Halle, where the greater part of its business was always transacted, to Merseburg was catastrophic. All witnesses, lawyers, experts, plaintiffs and defendants had now to journey from Halle to Merseburg. That would have been awkward enough in ordinary times, but in view of the general state of transport and the railways it soon proved almost impossible for the court to carry on at all. The change was particularly hard on all the employees and officials of the court. Naturally, they all lived in Halle, and as it was in most cases quite impossible to obtain accommodation in Merseburg, they all had to go backwards and forwards each day.

The difficulties were obvious from the beginning, and they were pointed out to the S.M.A., but without result: orders are orders, and must be carried out to the letter. However, after a period of utmost confusion and inefficiency it became clear even to the Russians that things were impossible. No doubt that would not have prevented their going on indefinitely, but by great good fortune a new Commander had in the meantime been appointed, and, as he did not feel himself bound by the follies of his predecessor, he proved

himself amenable to a little reason. The error has not yet been remedied entirely—that would be too much to expect—but most of the benches are again sitting in their old location, and unless a new commander with different views arrives there is every hope that in the course of time everything will be back where it was before.

Now, it is not only interference from the S.M.A. and the S.M.A.D. the German administration has to cope with, but also the interference of local commanders, whose horizon is even more limited than that of their chiefs. In Bernburg, the local commander, a lieutenant-colonel, went to the local court with the praiseworthy object of informing himself about the state of the German law. On looking through the law-books he was much disturbed to find that many of the laws had been signed by Hitler, Goering and Frick. When he asked for an explanation of this abominable circumstance, the judge did his best to explain that laws were signed by whoever happened to be in office for the time being; it was a pure formality. To prove his words he produced still other law books. But the worthy lieutenant-colonel was not impressed. "Why haven't you destroyed these Fascist books?" he demanded angrily. The judge pointed out that if they were destroyed the court would have no law books.

At first the indignant lieutenant-colonel seemed inclined to put everyone under arrest, from the judge downwards, but in the end he contented himself with seizing all the law books and having them carted off. After that the Bernburg Court had to get on as well as it could without reference books. The tragi-comic affair was reported to the Legal Administration in Halle, which got in touch with the S.M.A. and tried to secure the return of the confiscated books. This proved a very difficult matter, because in the Soviet Union all books are confiscated which bear the name of "an enemy of the people" anywhere in them. For instance, after the "show" trials in 1936 and 1937 all bank-notes in circulation were withdrawn because they bore the signatures of enemies of the peope who had in the meantime been "exposed". They were replaced by others which, no doubt as a precautionary measure, bore no signatures at all. In view of this law it was not easy to persuade the district satrap in Bernburg to part with his forbidden literature, though he did so with bad grace in the end.

Incidentally, the personality of the Police President in Magdeburg is worth a little examination. His name is Willi Wallstab, and he was a member of the Communist Party. Formerly he was a hairdresser's assistant in Stassfurt. Sent to concentration camp by the Nazis, he proved himself a willing tool of the Gestapo and was appointed a Capo, in which function his bullying and maltreatment of his fellow-prisoners became notorious. On one occasion in October 1941 he

caused a fellow-prisoner to be deprived of his clothing and left the whole night at an open window. After the German collapse he came out of camp, rejoined the Communist Party and was appointed Police President of Magdeburg. In this office he protects those who hold the same party-card as he does from all harm, no matter what their crimes, but those who place themselves in his path have cause to regret it. A police lieutenant named Lipp who refused to give up a room Wallstab wanted for one of his favourites was immediately arrested for "refusing to obey an order". Since then Lipp has "disappeared". A number of detectives who displeased, or failed to please, Wallstab were also arrested.

A man who particularly earned his hatred was a detective-inspector of the old school named Wiesemann, an officer with a strong sense of duty who refused to come to heel at the Police President's bidding. To make matters worse, Wiesemann was an old Social Democrat whom the Nazis had sent to a concentration camp in 1938. At the end of 1945 Wiesemann was conducting the investigation against a Communist official named Westerodt, head of the Economic Department, who was accused of having misused his official position to steal foodstuffs and sell them on the black market. This Westerodt is another typical of the officials of the new democracy in the Eastern Zone. He has a long criminal record, including convictions for theft, receiving, fraud and living on the immoral earnings of women.

Seeking to cover his party comrades, as usual, our Police President Wallstab summoned the detective-inspector and reproached him bitterly for having mentioned Westerodt's previous convictions.

In January 1946 a man was picked up by the police in Magdeburg who was under a charge of murder as leader of a political detachment in the British Zone. He had been arrested in Berlin, but with the assistance of a Russian officer he had been released from prison and provided by the Communist Party with false identity papers in the names of Hackbarth and Schmidt. In order to prevent Wallstab from releasing the man again, Wiesemann reported the matter to the British occupation authorities in Helmstedt, but before it was possible to send the man back to prison in Charlottenburg his party comrade, Police President Wallstab, had already released him. By this time Detective-Inspector Wiesemann decided, on sound information, that the only way he could avoid the arrest by the N.K.V.D., with which Wallstab threatened him, was to slip over the frontier into the British Zone, and this he did. Wallstab then tried to secure his extradition on a trumped-up charge of robbery and murder.

These facts and many others like them are an open secret in Magdeburg, yet the respected member of the "Unity" Party, Wall-

stab, is still Police President. The staff he has gathered round him is of the same type as himself. There is the head of the Murder Commission, for instance—the Communist Wackernagel. In August 1946 a man was shot dead by a police patrol whilst attempting to escape over a fence. An American wrist-watch with a silver bracelet was taken from the body. This should, of course, have been handed in with the other effects, but Wackernagel took a fancy to it and appropriated it to his own use. It is not surprising that his activity also extended to schnapps, foodstuffs and motor-car spares, which he sold to Russian customers. Most of his examinations of prisoners were conducted with an automatic in his hand. His usual assistants in this activity were two of his party comrades, Detective-Sergeants Hauschild and Danisch. Prisoners were often terribly beaten by these three Communists. Protocols were falsified and confessions extorted by violence, just as in the old days under the Nazis.

Another prominent Communist official of the new order in the Eastern Zone is Paul Volgmann. Before the Nazis came to power he was a Communist official and an active member of the Red Front Fighters' League. In 1939 he was sentenced to one year's hard labour by the Nazis for an offence against the explosives law. On his release during the war he became a foreman in a munitions factory employing French, Belgian and Dutch as well as German workers. Together with his friend Lippe he was guilty of maltreating foreign-born workers on innumerable occasions. He was a typical slave-driver in the Nazi interests, keeping back for himself a part of the inadequate rations allowed to his workers. Until the American troops occupied Salzwedel he wore the uniform of an N.C.O. of the Nazi Organization Todt. When the Russians took over from the Americans he hoisted the red flag and was once again a Communist. In September 1945 he was appointed Landrat. His Chief of Police, a man named Heinz Sieler, had been an active and prominent Nazi and a holder of the German Cross in gold. When he overheard an assistant forester say to his assistant that they must put their cycles in safety because there were Russians in the wood, he promptly struck the man a heavy blow in the face and threatened to denounce him to the Kommandantur for "insulting the Red Army". That he is also a well-known wife-beater can occasion no surprise.

By August 1946 his brutality and his lawlessness had become so notorious that he was summoned to appear before a party court to answer a long list of charges. Four former inmates of the concentration camp in which he had been confined were to give evidence as to his brutality towards other prisoners. He settled that difficulty by having them all arrested. The examining magistrate refused to issue warrants against the men, but Volgmann kept them illegally in arrest

for over two months. A group of fifteen Anti-Fascists wrote an open letter demanding his resignation, but as he enjoyed the protection of the District President in Magdeburg, a man named Bruschke, who was also a member of the "Unity" Party, all the complaints against him were ignored. At the time of writing Volgmann is still in office.

Threats instead of Assistance

The production of sugar-beet, the manufacture of sugar, distilleries and brewing play a big role in the economy of Saxe-Anhalt. Thanks to a favourable climate and favourable soil, the sugar-beet yield was always very good, and, in fact, almost two-thirds of the German sugar-beet harvest was grown in the area between the central Elbe and the lower Saale. Even during the war years the harvests were usually good. But now, despite the fact that the provision of manures and fertilizers was not unfavourable as compared with the rest of the Eastern Zone, the yield per hectare has fallen alarmingly. In 1946 the yield of grain and fodder-beet was not much more than half the average, whilst the potato crop was only about three-quarters of the normal. What was the cause?

Medium-sized farms were the usual feature of the agricultural structure in Saxe-Anhalt. But with the introduction of the land-reform scheme, 2,165 farms of more than 100 hectares each, representing 28 per cent of the total arable area, were broken up. The first effect of the parcelling of these farms was a big drop in the supply of potatoes for the market. Fifteen thousand hectares which were to have been sown with potatoes remained fallow because of the acute shortage of seed potatoes. In addition, by the end of April 1947 around two million cwts. of potatoes had been sent to the distilleries—an amount which would have permitted a distribution of about three-quarters of a cwt. per head of the population. As there was an acute shortage of potatoes to feed the population, large quantities of seed potatoes had to be used for the purpose.

All farms were now controlled by the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, the Women's League and the block parties, and the peasants were ordered to exceed even the planned quotas where potatoes were concerned. Now, although such things may look good on paper, they have no practical effect on the yields. The result was that rations had to be cut and foodstuffs of lower nutriment value distributed. And, as there was insufficient bread-grain available, it had to be stretched by the addition of oats and barley. In practice it proved impossible for the bakers to get the requisite amount out of the flour with which they were provided. They had either to give underweight or find themselves with a shortage of flour. In either

case they made themselves liable to prosecution. The butchers are in no better state, because the animals delivered to them are of poor quality and do not provide as much meat as the authorities calculate. Many shops are therefore being closed down, and many shopkeepers are being prosecuted.

Those who suffer most, of course, are the consumers, who do not even receive the minimum quantity of calories the rations are supposed to provide. The discontent with the food situation aggravates the resentment at the intolerable political conditions. On one occasion when he was addressing a meeting of workers at the famous Leuna Works, the Minister of the Interior, our old friend Robert Siewert, was howled down, and there were shouts of, "You've got your belly full, but we're hungry", and so on. Those who dare to protest are denounced in the Press of the "Unity" Party as "Reactionaries" and "Fascists." As an illegal leaflet distributed in Saxe-Anhalt puts it:

> "If you protest against fifty per cent of the potato crop being turned into schnapps when you and your families have to go without, you're a Fascist. If you protest against the black marketeering of high Government and Unity Party officials, you're a Fascist. If you protest against corruption, spivvery and bribery in the party and the administration, you're a Fascist. You're an enemy of the working class and you're liable to imprisonment for undermining the building up of our new democratic State!"

An Embarrassing Question

The troubles of artisans and small firms under the new regime are touched on in a letter dated November 27th, 1946, from the Mayor of Bitterfeld to the Provincial President, Dr. Huebener. The letter points out that for a long time—in many cases under pressure—orders have been carried out for the Russian occupation authorities by innumerable artisans and small firms, but that when the work is done it is impossible to find out who is responsible for payment of the bills. No less than 372,930 marks is already due on such bills, the Mayor points out, but so far this sum has not been paid, even in part. With the arrival of new orders for repairs to houses and interior decoration, etc., for Soviet troops, the Mayor wants to know why his artisans and small firms cannot be told clearly and definitely what they have to do to get their money and to whom they must apply. It is unlikely that Dr. Huebener has ever provided the inquisitive Mayor with a clear and definite reply to his embarrassing question, for his own position as a Liberal Democratic President cannot be reconciled with clarity and a definition of aims.

The New Concentration Camp Law

The prospects for the economic recovery of Saxe-Anhalt and the rebuilding of its economic structure are not very favourable, and little of any practical value is being undertaken in this respect by the authorities. But at least they can pass laws. One of these is entitled "A Law to Protect Constructive Work and to Prevent the Undermining of the Will to Constructive Work, to Safeguard Domestic Peace and to Combat Remarks Calculated to Stir up Discontent against the Constitutional Democratic Institutions". Quite a mouthful, and the law itself bears a sinister resemblance to the Nazi "Law for the Protection of State and People" which was rushed through after the burning of the Reichstag in 1933.

Under this new law anyone who makes statements "calculated to damage the reputation of the Diet or of any members of the Government" is liable to three months imprisonment. Anyone who abuses or mocks at the colours, flags or other symbols of the country, the permitted parties or a religious body, is liable to a term of imprisonment not less than three months and not more than three years. In addition, it is proposed to make greater use of the notorious institution of "protective arrest", though, it is hastily added, not in a way to invite comparison with the concentration camp and protective custody laws of the Nazis. Obviously the gentlemen have at least a bad conscience.

In fact, as we shall see, the Russian occupation authorities have reserved to themselves the right to run concentration camps. The new law is already in operation, and we have already had a few examples of its application. A landlord in Bernburg was sentenced to three months imprisonment "for indifference towards the victims of Fascism". An engineer in Bernburg who had said to his wife in the hearing of others that a mass demonstration arranged to protest against the breaking of windows at the "Unity" Party Headquarters was probably a put-up job to have something to demonstrate about, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

Secrecy Surrounds the Dismantling

Saxe-Anhalt has been one of the prime sufferers from the successive waves of dismantling carried out by the Russians. The basis of its industry and commerce is its own natural resources: potash and rock-salt in the Harz, copper in the Mansfeld district, saline wells in numerous spas, and, above all, its brown-coal resources, which account for a full third of Germany's brown-coal production and provide the raw materials for her powerful chemical industry.

Owing to the continued waves of dismantling, the industrial strength and significance of Saxe-Anhalt have been greatly reduced.

At a meeting of the Central Administration of Industry in the Eastern Zone at the end of 1945 it was reported that the Junkers Works in Dessau had been completely dismantled, and that the same fate had been suffered by factories producing driving-bands and spindles, with the result that there was an acute shortage in the textile industry. Later the great Leuna works; the modern works of the I.G. Farben in Wolfen and Bitterfeld; Giesches Erben and the Braunkohlen-Benzin A.G. in Magdeburg; the Solvay Works in Bernburg, which produced all the soda required by German industry; parts of the Fahlberg-List A.G. for chemicals; Hubbe & Fahrenholtz, and so on all suffered the same fate.

Despite repeated promises that undertakings of importance for feeding the people would not be dismantled, many such works have been dismantled, including all those in the sugar-manufacturing industry in Saxony, which provided the greater part of Germany's requirements. Sugar, chocolate and margarine works were dismantled in Tangermunde; the Portola works in Magdeburg; sugar-manufacturing works in Gommern and Groeningen, and the sugar refinery in Dessau. Siloes; electrical equipment; high-tension lines; the second line on the railways and important side-lines, including the electrified line from Magdeburg to Dessau and Leipzig; the research laboratories of the Junkers Works, and even the Institute for Forensic Medicine and Criminal Statistics attached to the University of Halle, were all victims.

Not only large-scale undertakings suffered in this way, but small ones as well. The full extent of these dismantlings is carefully concealed by the occupation authorities, and the figures are a top secret. Some indication can be obtained from the fact that the installations and equipment still remaining in the most important branches of industry, metallurgy, engineering, chemicals, rubber, textiles, paper and building materials, represent only a fraction of their former value. The Magdeburg municipality had begun to keep a record of all local dismantlings, but when the Magdeburg S.M.A. heard about it the municipality was ordered to deliver up all the material to the Kommandantur and forbidden to keep any such record in the future.

The most important of the large-scale undertakings still remaining were placed in the hands of Soviet companies operating according to their own plans, including the great wagon-building works in Dessau, the Krupp-Gruson Works in Magdeburg-Buckau, the Zeitz machinery manufacture, Schaeffer & Budenberg, Mackensen, Wolf Electro-works and many others, thirty-nine in all. Eleven Soviet companies with a total capital of 1,895 million roubles have been entered in the commercial register of the Halle Courts. They control

primarily the engineering and chemical industries. The founders of these companies are given as the Central Administration for Soviet Property Abroad attached to the Ministry for Foreign Trade in Moscow, and a number of Soviet industrial companies. The headquarters are in Moscow, and all the directors are Russians. Directorial Boards, set up according to industries, exist in Berlin-Weissensee for the whole Eastern Zone, and they are the link between the Central Administration in Moscow and the S.M.A.D. in Karlshorst, which has no authority to interfere with the affairs of Soviet undertakings.

The Garantie und Kreditbank in Berlin has been reopened with a capital of 150 million marks to finance Soviet trade in Germany and serve as an accounting centre. Soviet companies work exclusively in the economic interests of the Soviet Union, and the requirements of the forces of occupation are obtained from smaller firms. Incidentally, by the time these demands have been met there is very little left for domestic consumption, for, in addition, these firms have to work for reparations account. Small wonder that the German population in the Eastern Zone suffer from an acute lack of even the necessities of life. And much of what little remains is stolen in various ways, and finds its way into the black market. For instance, the firm Landskron of Breslau had a store of 2,000 pairs of boots and shoes in the neighbourhood of Halle. These boots and shoes were to have been distributed to fugitives from Silesia through the branches of the Co-operative Society, but before this could be done the leaders of the "Unity" Party in Halle heard about it and intervened, with the result that the Silesian fugitives got no shoes, whilst the officials of the party divided them up among themselves. Naturally, the firm received no payment for its goods.

A Russian Director-General is in full charge of the Soviet undertakings, and the German directors are subordinate to him and must obey his orders. Altogether the administration of these undertakings is completely Russian. For instance, when it was announced that the twelve-hour day was to be introduced into the firm of Schaeffer & Budenberg and in the Krupp works in Magdeburg, both now Soviet concerns, the shop stewards sent a deputation to table their objections. The deputation was not even received, but was sent away with the information that shop stewards had no standing in Soviet undertakings. It was only when the "Unity" trade union sent a representative that the workers obtained a hearing. The rate of exploitation has been raised to the limit in these Soviet undertakings, and all the advantages won by the workers in long years of struggle have been swept aside with a wave of the hand. For instance, formerly workers engaged on dirty jobs were allowed to begin cleaning

themselves twenty minutes before the end of the shift, but in Soviet undertakings they must work right through to the end and clean themselves afterwards. On the other hand, workers engaged in Soviet undertakings are in a higher ration class. The directors receive double heavy-worker rations and generous supplementary rations, and in addition they are highly paid—all in accordance with the Soviet principle of the greatest possible differentiation: to him who has shall be generously given.

Monopolistic Concentration

By September 1947, 465 factories under State control were joined together in the Industriewerke Sachsen-Anhalt, representing an important sector of the industry. In the food-and-drinks industry almost the whole production of cooking oil and fats is in the hands of these State-owned factories. The Industry Group "Building" consists of ninety undertakings. Over fifty mines, coal-block manufactories and potash pits are also State owned since 1946. Over 100,000 workers are employed by this mammoth State concern, which is run by three Chief Directors entrusted with amalgamations, engaging leading personnel, the distribution of raw materials, tools and machinery amongst the various affiliated undertakings, and so on. It is a clear example of monopoly capitalism, though the State is the owner and the directors are the leaders of the "Unity" Party.

At a meeting of the Works Councils of this giant undertaking it was stated that about half the former productive volume had now been reached. The question of who reaps the benefit was not raised. For instance, the production of the meat-canning factory Heine in Halberstadt is devoted exclusively to reparations account.

Very little margin is left for private initiative, and what there is is confined to optical and fine mechanics works and the production of paper and building materials. But as both raw-material supplies and sales are controlled by the Provincial Chamber of Trade, private initiative is very limited. Instead of 65,000 undertakings employing almost three million workers, only 6,400 undertakings employing about 200,000 workers were still in private hands at the beginning of 1947.

The Russian tendency to favour those in high office or responsible positions is very evident in the Eastern Zone. For instance, a newly opened Co-operative Stores serves members only, and these members all belong to the municipal administration of the town of Halle. In other words, it is a closed shop for specially privileged persons along Soviet lines.

CHAPTER VI

THURINGIA

WEIMAR, ONCE the home of Goethe and Schiller, and the birthplace of Germany's first democratic constitution, is now the residence of Moscow's Viceroy, Major-General Kolyesnitchenko. Not far from Weimar was the notorious Nazi concentration camp Buchenwald. The camp is still there to-day; it has been reopened under Russian ægis.

According to a report published in the Soviet officious *Taegliches Rundschau*, Major-General Kolyesnitchenko received the heads of the Thuringian administration, the leaders of the political parties and the officers of the occupation authority (S.M.A.) on May 14th, 1947. At this reception he expressed the hope

> "that the democratic administrative organs, the parties and organizations which created them, the democratic Press and other public organizations and institutions will prove strong enough to grasp their responsibility for the democratic development of Thuringia and for the waging of a vigorous struggle against the enemies of democracy. We want," he declared, "to make Thuringia into a State based on the rule of law, a State in which law and order govern all the relations between its individual citizens and between the citizenry as a whole and the State. As the representatives of the occupation authorities, we reserve the right to control the economic and political activity of the administrative organs, but we expect that the Government and its administrative organs, the parties and other organizations will demonstrate more independence and responsibility in the carrying out of their tasks.
>
> "A State based on the rule of law, a State in which law and order govern all relationships between individual citizens and between the citizenry as a whole and the State".

A worthy ideal. Let us see how far that ideal has been translated into practice under Russian rule in Thuringia.

Weissensee is a pleasant little town to the north of Erfurt. In the period of acute disorder and upheaval which followed on the German collapse in 1945 a man named Hitkamp came to the fore. By falsely representing himself as a victim of Fascism and declaring

that he had been held in concentration camp under Hitler, this man succeeded in becoming a policeman. No sooner was he in office than, together with a Sudete German named Leimer, a garage mechanic, he organized a band of robbers who made the neighbourhood unsafe. Under the leadership of Hitkamp, they carried out "searches" and "raids" wherever they suspected that there were valuables. Those who attempted to resist their depredations were held up at the point of the revolver and often brutally beaten. Many people were arrested as "Fascists", even if they were known to have been anti-Fascists. Thanks to the official position of this remarkable "policeman", the band was able to carry on its activities for many months. In the end, however, the two ringleaders were caught, but in some mysterious fashion they managed to escape and make their way over the frontier to safety. Not only did the two chief criminals disappear, but the whole file relating to the investigation into their crimes disappeared as well, and was never found again.

There was a very good reason both for the escape of the criminals and the disappearance of the file. Amongst the local officials were men who had not only tolerated the crimes of Hitkamp and his friends, but actually taken part in them. Many of the facts were subsequently revealed as the result of an investigation ordered by Dr. Kuelz, Minister of Justice in Weimar, towards the end of June 1946. Although it was no longer possible to clear up the affair entirely, a very great deal did come out, and it was shown that the Mayor of Weissensee, a man named Schwanz, an official of the Landrats office named Koch, the District Police Chief, Mehler, and the Vice-Landrat, Hecht, were all directly involved.

Koch, it was discovered, was a man with many criminal convictions, including one for attempted murder which had earned him eight years hard labour. This man took part in the raids organized by Hitkamp, and so also did the Mayor of Weissensee, Schwanz, who used his car to carry away the stolen property, and then stored it in the dance-hall of the public-house he owned. The District Police Chief Mehler also took part in the crimes on many occasions. However, the guiding spirit in the whole affair was seen to be Vice-Landrat, Hecht. It was he who chose the houses to be raided. He was never present at any of the raids himself, but he saw to it that the others handed over his share of the proceeds, which also included some valuable oil-paintings stolen by the gang from the house of the former Mayor of Weissensee, Ueberhorst.

The complicity of the local officials went much farther than this, but after the passage of more than twelve months they had naturally effaced as many traces of their activity as possible. The preliminary investigations revealed that the local authorities in Weissensee were

engaged primarily in feathering their nests at the expense of the populace. The main figure amongst these exemplary officials of the new regime was Landrat Sonntag. The report of the Examining Magistrate charged him with twenty-two offences, chiefly committed in the execution of his office, including defalcation, receiving stolen goods, wrongful arrest, unlawful assault, blackmail, intimidation, corruption and persuading subordinates to commit criminal offences. The next in the list was his Vice-Landrat, Hecht, who was charged with fifteen offences. The District Police Chief, Mehler, was listed on twelve counts, and the Mayor of Weissensee, Schwanz, on ten. Others charged with a smaller number of similar offences were Mayor Ahrend (six cases), Mayor Neuhoeffer (four cases), the official Koch (four cases) and so on. Altogether a list of seventy-three serious crimes committed in office.

The most profitable operations of this gang consisted in arresting real or supposed former members of the Nazi Party and putting them in prison. No charges were ever made against these people, and they were never brought up for trial. After a few weeks, in one case after four months, the prisoners were told that if they showed themselves appreciative they would be released and nothing more said about the alleged charges against them. Some of the victims had to pay as much as 40,000 marks to recover their liberty, whilst others were freed on payment of much smaller sums, no doubt in accordance with the Socialist principle "from each according to his abilities".

By means of illegal confiscations the gang secured possession of a very great deal of valuable property, including furniture, carpets, gold and silver ornaments, etc., and cash. What Hitkamp and his gang did at the point of the revolver, these bigger rogues did by misusing their office. They did not turn up their noses at less valuable booty, and they stole cigars, cigarettes, soap, soap powder, clothing, linen, and in fact everything they could lay their thieving hands on. Neuhoeffer in particular, who kept a chemist's shop in Weissensee, despised no additional source of income, however modest, and he raided the stores of Red Cross supplies kept at the Town Hall, carting his booty off in washing-baskets and selling it in his shop to his customers.

Neuhoeffer and Mehler also allotted themselves land in the course of the land-reform operations in the district, and gave land to their friends. As he was in charge of the food supplies department, Neuhoeffer regularly supplied himself and the others in the plot with large quantities of bread, meat, flour, sugar and milk far in excess of the supplementary rations granted them by the provincial authorities. Neuhoeffer and Hecht in particular were well in with the Russian

occupation authorities, and if anyone attempted to interfere with them they threatened him with arrest by the N.K.V.D.

Apart from their multifarious crimes, these representatives of Major-General Kolyesnitchenko's ideal democratic State conducted themselves like brutal autocrats. Mehler was constantly threatening people with violence. To a peasant who ventured to contradict him he declared brutally: "One more word from you and you can say good-bye to your farm." And such threats were no mere empty boasts. On other occasions Mehler brutally attacked people who incurred his dislike, including a young lawyer named Rink, whom he knocked unconscious. The others were no better. When a woman named Rohrbach kept him waiting for a short while at her door before she opened it, Mayor Schwanz had her arrested and led away by the municipal police. When he finally released her he declared: "The next time the Mayor comes to your door, perhaps you'll open it a little quicker."

Most of these facts were known to the intimidated townsfolk long before they were revealed in the preliminary investigations. In an ordered state of society such officials would not have held their jobs for five minutes, but in the Eastern Zone things are different. At the end of May 1946 the Public Prosecutor in Erfurt secured warrants for the arrest of all the suspects, on the ground that if they were left at liberty they would use it to cover up their traces and possibly intimidate witnesses. But then the Russian occupation authorities intervened. The Public Prosecutor, Finnefroh, was called to Lieutenant-Colonel Ivanov of the S.M.A. in Weimar and asked whether the officials to be arrested were members of the "Unity" Party. When he admitted that they were, Finnefroh was told that no members of that Party could be arrested without the previous consent of the occupation authorities. This decision was then officially communicated to the Attorney-General of Thuringia, Dr. Kuschnitzky, by Ivanov, at the direct orders of Major-General Kolyesnitchenko, who was also told that, before such warrants could be issued, the consent of the Provincial President, Dr. Paul, and that of the leading committee of the "Unity" Party must be obtained.

The warrants in question were never executed, and the suspected men are still in office, carrying on as though nothing has happened. Clearly they enjoy the protection of influential people. A further indication of this is the fact that the Ministry of Justice in Weimar has since announced that the documents in the case are no longer available. Despite various half-hearted attempts to bring the criminals to justice, no proceedings have ever been opened against them.

It is interesting to note that during the war Hecht held a leading position in an armament works, where he constantly went around with the Hakenkreuz badge in his buttonhole as a member of the Nazi Party. Schwanz was also a member of the Nazi Party, and was expelled in 1938 and sentenced to imprisonment for theft. Ahrend was local treasurer for a Nazi organization. Neuhoeffer was one of the founder members of the Nazi Party in Weissensee, but was later expelled for stealing from the party funds. Mehler was a police captain under the Nazis. These are the men who now enjoy membership of the "Unity" Party and the protection of the Russian occupation authorities.

Landrat Sonntag in Weissensee, who, despite the twenty-two offences in office with which he is charged, cannot be brought into court because he is a member of the "Unity" Party, is not at all an exceptional figure. Twenty-three of the twenty-six districts of Thuringia are now under Communist administration, and everywhere there are types like Sonntag and his henchmen. Paul Roth, formerly a turner, is now Communist Landrat in Rudolfstadt. Thanks to his official position, he was able to obtain large quantities of various goods, which he sold on the black market. From being penniless he has become rich. Certain members of the Communist Party were indignant at the villainy of their comrade and his misuse of his office as Landrat, and they protested openly and demanded his dismissal. However, they had reckoned without the local Russian occupation authorities, who arrested them all and held them in prison for several weeks. But even that did not fully protect Roth. Thinking himself quite safe, he continued his depredations, and went too far, and the Public Prosecutor had no alternative but to order his arrest. However, after a while the Russian authorities intervened, and he was released. This time he realized that the game was up, and fled. A search made in the house of his girl friend revealed a large store of foodstuffs and other goods, including 22,000 towels and 150 dozen pairs of stockings. It was impossible to catch Roth, so the woman was brought to trial and sentenced to a year's imprisonment for complicity. At the trial it was revealed that Roth had obtained stockings and underwear on a vast scale, cases and cases of spirits, barrels of herrings, sets of china and all sorts of other goods for sale on the black market in Berlin. Thanks to the intervention of the local Commandant, he escaped his deserts, but this time the scandal was so great that the Commandant was recalled. Had Roth stood his trial the revelations would have involved far wider circles. His Russian friends knew why they were so anxious to facilitate his escape.

Another corrupt official in Thuringia is the president of the

Thuringia Provincial Insurance Institute, Reinhold Lettau. In 1945 Lettau was Police President in Erfurt. In this capacity he recruited a man named Kirchner as a detective, although Kirchner had nine convictions for fraud, receiving stolen goods, rape and other offences. Armed with the authority to carry out searches and make arrests, Kirchner promptly proceeded to make illegal confiscations of property. In addition, he was mixed up in illegal slaughtering. This rascally detective regularly supplied his equally rascally superior with illegal meat and tobacco. Kirchner stole jewellery, clothing and cloth with the assistance of his warrant, and part of the proceeds were handed over to Lettau. In the end Kirchner was arrested, but Lettau, who had the right party book in his pocket, was transferred and promoted.

Mayors as Russian Hostages

A feature of life in the Eastern Zone is a constant succession of robberies with violence and rape. Things got so bad in Nordhausen that certain courageous men banded themselves together to deal with the criminals "in Russian uniform"—usually Russian officer's uniforms, incidentally—who raped women and carried out highway robberies. The result was a peremptory message to the local Mayors from "Hero of the Soviet Union" Colonel Kravchenko on May 10th, 1946:

> "In view of the fact that recently in the town and district of Nordhausen cases of attacks on members of the occupation force have been taking place in increasing numbers, whereby German civilian persons have beaten members of the Red Army into insensibility, the Military Commandant hereby warns the Mayors of all towns and villages in this district that should such cases occur again he will take the severest measures against them and hand them over to the courts for punishment."

"Hero of the Soviet Union" Kravchenko takes no measures to stop the violation of women by his men, but he threatens to make the Mayors responsible if the local populace resist.

Provocation

In October 1945 a typewritten leaflet was found in Greussen, near Sonderhausen, signed by the "Werwolf", declaring that the land reform was the first stage of collectivization on Russian lines. The Nazis, it said, had plunged Germany into disaster, but the Communists were now completing her ruin. As a result of the discovery of this leaflet the police arrested twenty-six persons, only to release

twenty of them almost immediately. The remaining six were handed over to the N.K.V.D.

A few weeks later the N.K.V.D. arrested thirty-two other young men, some of whom came from Communist families. As it was quite impossible for an organization of the Werwolf of that size to exist in Greussen without anyone knowing anything about it, the anti-Fascist Press took up the matter. In the end it turned out that the Mayor of Greussen himself was responsible for the leaflets, which were proved to have been typed on his machine, and in fact he made a full confession. But once the N.K.V.D. has a man in its grasp it does not easily let go, and it is more than unwilling to admit that it can possibly have made a mistake. Repeated requests for the release of the arrested young men and for information as to their whereabouts went unanswered. Nothing was ever heard of them again, though it is rumoured that they were all sentenced to long terms of forced labour immediately after their arrest and before the truth of the matter came out. They are almost certainly now in Siberia.

A Russian "Show" Trial

Apparently in order to impress the local population, the Russians organized a so-called "show" trial in Muehlhausen. A man was charged with having concealed an anti-tank weapon, one of the type known as "Panzerfaust", and with being, or having been, the local leader of the Nazi Party and a personal friend of Sauckel, the Nazi leader who was subsequently hanged in Nuremberg. One of the exhibits was a circular, dating from the Nazi period, which had been found in his home beginning: "Dear German Folk Comrades" and ending "Yours, Sauckel". This was the circular sent out to all branches of the Nazi Party at the time of the calling up of the Volksturm, or last-ditch Home Guards.

After the accused had been six months in prison he was brought to trial. This "trial" took place in the hall of a local cinema, and was announced by loud-speaker and in the Press. On the stage was a table at which sat five Russian officers in their gala uniforms. Before them, heavily manacled and surrounded by armed guards, stood the accused. Behind him sat his family. According to the evidence of witnesses, he had been treasurer of the local Nazi branch —a not very important and certainly not a leading post. After a short discussion amongst the Russian officers, their leader announced the sentence: death by hanging. The defending lawyer appealed. The court withdrew. Two hours later it met again, and announced that "Stalin" had commuted the sentence to death by shooting. The man was executed the same night.

"*More Independence and Responsibility*"

"More independence and responsibility in the carrying out of their tasks" was what the Russian Commandant Kolyesnitchenko wanted to see under his ægis in Thuringia. How does it look in practice? And how much room do the Russian occupation authorities leave the German administration for either independence or responsibility?

On October 18th, 1946, the Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.) in Weimar sent the following instructions to the then Provincial President, Dr. Paul:

"To judge by the situation on October 10th the plan for the collection of agricultural production has failed. On the basis of the information available it is clear that open sabotage is being carried out by individual Landraete, Mayors and peasants. The fact that the carrying out of the collection of agricultural produce has failed I set down exclusively to a lack of control on the part of the Provincial Department for Trade and Supplies and to the inadequate demands that you have made on the Director of this department, on the Landraete and on the Mayors. In order that the carrying out of the collection plan should not be endangered any further I order:

"1. That you shall demand immediately from all Landraete and Mayors that during the course of October the delivery obligations plan should not only be carried out to a maximum degree but that the work of securing a still earlier delivery of all the agricultural produce concerned should be organized.

"2. That you shall warn the Director of the Provincial Department for Trade and Supplies, and all Landraete and Mayors, that a failure to bring in the supplies at the fixed minimum volume within the specified time will be regarded by the S.M.A. as sabotage, and that persons who permit the failure of the planned deliveries will be made responsible before a court-martial.

"3. That in accordance with the material available concerning the investigation of deliveries in Weimar and Nordhausen persons responsible for the failure of the delivery plan shall be brought to book. Dismiss those who prove incapable of carrying out your instructions. Bring those persons to trial who sabotage the carrying out of the orders of the S.M.A. You must also impose economic sanctions on them.

"4. Report to me on the carrying out of these instructions by November 1st, 1946."

Another order of the S.M.A. in Weimar addressed to the Thuringian President on December 3rd, 1946, reads:

"According to the reports of the Landraete concerning the sugar-beet harvest the actual yield is 19·3 instead of the planned average of 25. There are indications that some peasants are retaining part of the yield and turning it into syrup for sale to the urban population. I order you to issue instructions at once for an inspection of the sugar-beet yield on the peasant holdings in order to guarantee the delivery of the entire sugar-beet yield according to the plan. Those responsible for withholding sugar-beet, selling it or making it into syrup must be brought before the courts and severely punished. Place a police guard on the sugar factories until the conclusion of the work."

What paternal care for the supply of sugar to the towns! Or is it? In February 1947 alone twenty-five goods trains with 1,166 trucks of sugar left the Eastern Zone for the Soviet Union, and in April eleven trains with 574 trucks of sugar.

In October 1947 the S.M.A. complained of inefficient organization, poor labour discipline and working losses in the Thuringian industrial undertakings, and ordered a re-organization of the central administration, the abolition of the old system of "double administration" with two directors, the appointment of a single responsible director and the engagement of experienced experts. In other words, "independence and responsibility" by order, a system most calculated to encourage personal initiative.

That is quite typical of what is happening under Russian ægis both above and below. For instance, on January 6th, 1947, the Ministry of Justice in Weimar informed the Central Legal Administration in Berlin that the local court in Nordhausen had ordered several hundred peasants to pay fines despite the fact that many of them had been acquitted. The orders pointed out that the fines were imposed at the instructions of the District Kommandantur and that there was no legal means of appeal against them.

The Central Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.D.), whose headquarters are in Karlshorst, issues its orders for the whole zone without respect for facts or circumstances; the Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.) in Weimar passes them on, and declares the President of the Thuringian Diet responsible for their execution, instructing him to make the Province Department for Trade and Supplies, all the Landraete and all the Mayors, and so on right down to the last peasant, personally responsible, and if possible to put a policeman on guard over each field of beet. When it proves impossible to carry out a plan which has been concocted from a central point without the least consideration for local circumstances—perhaps, for instance, climatic conditions turn out to be highly unfavourable—then

the Public Prosecutor is sent into action to file indictments to be heard in summary jurisdiction for "sabotage", which may result in sentences up to fifteen years hard labour, and perhaps even death. In addition, the local courts, on the direct instructions of the local Kommandantur, scatter heavy fines far and wide without legal sanction or basis.

So much for the independence and responsibility of the German authorities under Russian tutelage. The men who have to carry out these Russian instructions know perfectly well that in many cases it is quite impossible for the peasants, even with the best will in the world, to do what the Russians demand. Nevertheless, when they fail to do so they are punished.

Starvation and the Black Market

Such dictatorial economic methods naturally bear their inevitable fruit. The Departmental Chief of the Ministry of Labour in the Thuringian Government, a certain Dr. Mueller, announced at a Press conference held in Stuttgart that, thanks to the radical land reform and to the firm measures which had been taken against abensteeism and spivvery, things were going well in Thuringia, and in particular there was no black market. But this was so much propaganda eye-wash. The reality can be seen better in an appeal issued by the Lord Mayor of Jena for generous contributions to a fund started by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry to assist under-nourished children—"to save them literally from starvation", as he says in his appeal. The Thuringian Minister of Supply, Dr. Grosse, admitted in the Diet that the food situation was extremely serious, even critical with regard to supplies of milk, butter, eggs and pork. Five hundred and seventy-three peasants were coming up for trial, 275 farms had been placed under Government control and thirty-six farms had been confiscated. Grosse then directed "a last exhortation and warning" to the peasants, and threatened them with the severest penalties if they did not fulfil the delivery programme. At the same time an investigation into the administration of the Erfurt slaughter-houses revealed that numerous cattle and other livestock had died because they had not been fed for weeks at a time. Economic chaos or sabotage? In the last resort the result is the same.

Despite Dr. Mueller's optimism, the black market is flourishing, whilst simultaneously the Province Health Department in Weimar reports an alarming decline in the weight of the population.

Constitutions by Order

The constitution of a country is its supreme law. Although the Russians are never at a loss for fine-sounding phrases against par-

ticularism and in favour of Germany's political unity, they have imposed separate constitutions on each of the five States or Laender which make up the Eastern Zone, each of which has its own government and its own diet. Thuringia was the first to put its new constitution into practice. The leadership of the Thuringian "Unity" Party received its instructions from the Berlin Central Secretariat to have the new constitution ready by December 20th, 1946, at the latest, and as it was well aware of the meaning of "democratic centralism", the new constitution was in fact hurried through the Diet by the specified date.

An interesting point about this constitution is that it expressly forbids the courts to inquire into the validity of any laws which are passed. Any such investigation is exclusively within the purview of a special committee of the Diet, or, in other words, a special committee of the law-makers themselves. All the courts have to do is to carry out the laws without question. The new constitution was drawn up as a model for the constitutions of all the other Laender in the Eastern Zone. Its main object is a denial of the principle of divided authority as between executive, legislature and judicature, which is in civilized countries the main bar to central tyranny. As the Christian Democratic Union, or C.D.U., was prevented from setting out its objections, owing to the speed with which the new constitution was rushed through, it stayed away from the sessions for a time, but that was the sum total of its opposition. The C.D.U. Ministers remained in the Government, and the Minister of Transport, a C.D.U. nominee, is even in the service of the Russian secret police.

At the beginning of November 1947, during the discussion on the budget of the judicature, the "Socialist Unity" deputy Eyermann let the cat out of the bag in the Weimar Diet. The principle of an independent judicature, he declared, was in contradiction with the principle of democracy established in the constitution; even postal secrecy must be waived in the interests of justice.

That is Thuringia, the "State based on the rule of law", as desired by its dictator, Major-General Kolyesnitchenko. The other Laender in the Eastern Zone are no different. The "democracies" behind the Iron Curtain are democracies of a very special kind.

CHAPTER VII

MECKLENBURG AND WEST POMERANIA

MECKLENBURG, AN agricultural province bearing an ox's head in its arms, and now enlarged by that part of Pomerania west of the Oder, is probably—apart from Saxony—the most bolshevized district in the Eastern Zone. Wherever you go in Mecklenburg there are streamers all bearing the usual slogans of the "Unity" Party for the edification of the man in the street. The "Unity" Party itself and all its ragtag and bobtail retinue of so-called "non-party" or "independent" organizations have impressive quarters in all towns and villages. Everywhere streets are named after the German Communist leaders: "Wilhelm Pieck Street", "Ernst Thaelmann Square", and so on. Huge pictures of various bolshevist leaders decorate the fronts of all buildings occupied by the Russian military authorities and also the official buildings of the German administration. Even in small villages there are shop windows with propaganda material designed to convince the beholder of the unparalleled excellence of everything in the Soviet Union.

The Party Élite

Old and reliable Communists occupy all key positions in the Mecklenburg Government. The whole executive power is wielded by the Ministry for Domestic Administration and Planning, and that is in the hands of the former Communist member of the Diet, Warncke. As there is no Ministry of Justice in Mecklenburg, juridical affairs are also managed by Warncke's Ministry. The Ministry for People's Education, which is in charge of the ideological training of the coming generation, is under a Communist named Bruenberg, who was himself trained in the Soviet Union. Like the leading man in the Ministry of Economics, Ministerial Director Loehr, and the District Leader of the "Unity" Party, Kurt Buerger, he was a political instructor in a Soviet Russian camp for prisoners of war. The Planning Office, which holds all the economic strings in its hands, is run by a Balt named Doernberg, who was unfortunate enough to fall foul of the N.K.V.D. whilst he was in the Soviet Union, but has since been taken back to grace. He is the father of the adjutant of Moscow's stadholder in Mecklenburg, General Skorzirov, who has now been recalled.

Nepotism is widespread in the Schwerin Government and its administration. Loehr's wife is a Chief Privy Councillor in charge of the Personnel Department. She may be utterly ignorant, but she makes up for it by absolute devotion to the party line. Doernberg's son, a lieutenant in the Red Army, trained at the political school of the Comintern in Kushmarenko (Bashkiria), is the right hand of the Police Chief of the Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.), Colonel Serebrienski, who is the virtual ruler of Mecklenberg. It was he who organized the formation of the "Unity" Party and applied the necessary pressure to recalcitrant Social Democrats. For instance, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Moltmann, was known as a staunch, or apparently staunch, opponent of "unification". Colonel Serebrienski summoned him to an interview at the offices of the S.M.A. What happened at that interview is still a secret between Moltmann and Serebrienski, but immediately after it Moltmann was a changed man, and thenceforth an upholder of "unification".

The campaign approached its conclusion. The Communists demanded unity; some Social Democrats supported them. The Press and the wireless pumped out their propaganda day after day, and in the end the new "Unity" Party was formed in the presence of Serebrienski and his aide, Lieutenant Doernberg. The general secretary elected by the "Unity Congress", Willi Jesse, was arrested a month or two later by the N.K.V.D., and has not been heard of since.

The censorship of the Press is particularly onerous in Mecklenburg. Colonel Serebrienski attends to all Press matters in person, and if anything is laid before him of which he does not approve, then whoever is responsible has to come along and do a little explaining. Every sentence, every official announcement, every advertisement, every theatrical or cinema programme, every scrap of printed matter is first carefully vetted, and often articles attacking the Nazis are suppressed for fear they might be thought to refer to the Russians. Incidentally, there is every reason for confusion—the acts of the Russians are so like those of the Nazis. The *cliché* "Brown hordes", used so often to describe the Nazis, is forbidden in the Mecklenburg Press because the Russian soldiers also wear a uniform which might be described as brown. No news about epidemics, sicknesses, the mortality rate or food conditions is allowed to appear. Everything has to be "positive"—meaning in favour of the regime and the Soviet Union. Everything Soviet has to be presented as perfect in every respect, and everything non-Soviet as reprehensible.

The population of the Western Zone would hardly recognize themselves in the columns of the Mecklenburg Press, and there are constant headlines such as "Mortality Rate in the West Rising",

"More and More Sickness in the West", "The Reaction Sabotages Food Supplies in the West", and so on. Even an article comparing the former size of the population in Mecklenburg with its present size was blue pencilled. The Russian military censors themselves live in mortal fear of their chief, Colonel Serebrienski, and they strike out everything which has an ideological tinge as being too dangerous.

But it is not only the Press that is throttled; every aspect of public life is subjected to the same suspicious censorship. Every speech and every university lecture must first of all be presented to the Russians for preliminary censorship, and woe betide the speaker if he subsequently deviates from his permitted text! School-teachers are under a specially close control, and any one of them who comes under suspicion of being insufficiently friendly towards Bolshevism is sure of the attentions of the N.K.V.D. There is plenty of room for him and his like in the concentration camps. As Soviet propaganda has worn thin and now has little effect, the weapon of terror and repression is wielded all the more vigorously.

On the economic field "the Plan" is a Moloch to which the well-being and happiness, and often the lives, of human beings are sacrificed. Because the existing difficulties are so great, and also because the instructions given by the Russians are frequently clumsy, inexpert, contradictory and over-hasty, it is seldom possible to fulfil the plan quotas in time, and then the shout of "sabotage" immediately goes up. Every business man, every industrialist, receives his instructions direct from the economic officer, no matter whether he is engaged in the production of cheese, schnapps or wooden boxes. The German administration may do nothing without the express instructions of the Russians, and their instructions contradict each other and change from one day to the next. Every responsible German official is a regular visitor to the offices of the S.M.A., where he has to sit and listen for hours to long dissertations by the Russians as to how his job should be done, and if he dares to make even a perfectly objective comment it is most unfavourably received.

Mecklenburg enjoys a League for Culture, which is under the leadership of the writer Willi Bredl, a former Communist journalist and political commissar with the International Brigade in Spain and later an active member of the "Free German Committee" in Moscow. Colonel Serebrienski is particularly interested in culture, and the League is therefore kept constantly supplied with "directives". Its chief activity is the production of bolshevist literature, which is sent out to every nook and cranny in the land. The League is, of course, nothing but a thinly camouflaged instrument of Soviet propaganda, and the same is true of the Government Department

for Education and Culture. Gruenberg's first assistant, a former officer of the Wehrmacht named Simon, who had been "re-educated", soon shook the dust of Mecklenburg from his feet and joined the already large army of Mecklenburg's officials and Civil Servants who found it impossible to continue their activities under Russian control.

However, Gruenberg has other interests apart from the purely cultural. There is a letter signed by him as Vice-President of the Mecklenburg Government telling the wife of a former Nazi to dispose of his business—or else. After the arrival of this letter the woman received the visit of a personal friend of Gruenberg's, a man named Guthmann, who was, of course, also a member of the "Unity" Party, who offered to take over the business. Things, however, did not go quite according to the Herr Vice-President's plan, and the woman obtained Guthmann's conviction on a charge of fraud and blackmail. However—no doubt as Gruenberg's friend—Guthmann got off lightly with a fine of 1,000 marks. The letter written by Gruenberg is filed with the documents in the case. Needless to say, Gruenberg was not put in the dock with his friend Guthmann.

"Float a New Loan"

The "harmonious co-operation" of the "Unity" Party with the Russian occupation authorities brings much grist to the Soviet mill. A "Reconstruction Loan" organized by the "Unity" Party in 1946 and pushed with all possible propagandist devices raised the sum of 40 million marks in Mecklenburg. As the loan fund had not all been exhausted by the end of the budgetary year, it was paid into the reparations account at the orders of the S.M.A., so that a good part of the monies intended for German reconstruction went straight into the coffers of the Soviet Union. When the Russian financial expert in Karlhorst was asked for advice by the Finance Ministers of the various Eastern Zone Laender as to what they should say to their Diets when questions were asked—as they were certain to be—concerning the way in which the loan had been spent, he told them to say that roads and bridges had been built, repairs carried out, and so on. Just as easy as that! This was at the end of the budgetary year 1947–48. Thirsting for still more advice, the Finance Ministers asked if this oracle had any suggestions as to how they could raise the extremely onerous reparations quotas—for instance, Mecklenburg alone has to pay 420 million marks. The answer was that they should float a new reconstruction loan. It is clear that, with Russia milking away for all she is worth, the German Laender are in a state of near bankruptcy, so much so that, for instance, the State police

now have to be paid for by the municipalities. The "Unity" Party Ministers in the Eastern Zone have certainly no easy task, but at least in Mecklenburg they uphold the principle of not muzzling the ox which treads out the corn, and all of them have farms and estates of their own provided from the funds set up by the expropriation of former large landowners and Nazis.

The Swollen Bureaucracy

The whole of post-war Germany is suffering from a gross inflation of the administrative apparatus, but it is worst of all in the five Laender which make up the Eastern Zone, and, of these, it is probably worst in little Mecklenburg, which, although it has only two and a half million inhabitants, has to pay for the upkeep of a bureaucratic apparatus large enough, and too large, for a Great Power. The Ministerial Presidium in Mecklenburg employs no fewer than 191 people, as compared with the total of thirty-two employed in the Reich's Chancellory in Berlin before Hitler. The Ministry for Trade and Supplies goes one better, with 196 employees. Little Mecklenburg has now to maintain seven Ministries and a Ministerial Presidium, all of them with greatly swollen staffs.

However, they are all kept busy, particularly their translators and interpreters, by the Soviet Military Authority, which issues streams of orders, all of which, even the most unimportant, have to be executed at the double. All Soviet officials have a holy horror of putting down any instructions in writing, and so German officials can obtain only verbal instructions. If anything goes wrong, then it is impossible to tell who gave the orders and to whom he gave them —a very convenient arrangement in view of the incalculability of Russian actions from one day to the next. For German officials to act without written instruction is, of course, highly disagreeable, particularly as it is often highly dangerous. For instance, it is invariably impossible to get the signature of a Russian Commander agreeing to the institution of proceedings, and then, if anything goes wrong, there is the devil to pay. Many documents submitted to the Russians for signature are kept for weeks, sometimes months, and then sent back without comment and without signature. Even interzonal relations are greatly hampered by particularism. For instance, the Russian authorities in Mecklenburg refused to recognize de-Nazification certificates issued by Russian authorities elsewhere in the Eastern Zone, and so on. All business and commodity exchange between Mecklenburg and "abroad"—meaning Berlin and the rest of the Eastern Zone—has to be carried on according to "delivery arrangements, which must pass through, and be agreed to, by the planning and economic authorities of the countries concerned".

Nothing whatever is done in a simple fashion if it is at all possible to do it in an involved and complicated one. Naturally supplies to the masses of the people suffer grievously.

In view of the unforeseeable and constant intervention of the Russian occupation authorities, the activity of the so-called Planning Office is largely a waste of time, and the same is true of all the feverish running around at the Ministry for Trade and Supplies, for there is very little trade and very few supplies. The few large-scale undertakings which were located in Mecklenburg have all been seized by the Russians, so "Socialization" had perforce to confine its attention to the smaller undertakings. In all, 813 of them were expropriated in Mecklenburg. The eighty-five State-owned undertakings which make up the building materials and timber group include twenty-four saw-mills, and nineteen carpenters' and joiners' workshops and wheelwrights. In the absence of larger concerns even the small bakery Waderstraat in Grimmen was expropriated.

One of the absolutely essential requisites of a "People's Democracy" is, of course, a parliament. However, as things stand in Mecklenburg, the Diet is nothing but an expensive luxury, because it is merely the democratic façade for the Communist dictatorship, and differences of opinion are rarely expressed within its walls. The stage management sees to it that everything is co-ordinated in the "Anti-Fascist Block" before ever it comes into the Diet. The debate on the budget is considered one of the most valuable privileges of a democratic parliament. Very little use is made of it in Mecklenburg. Although the budget is twelve times as large as it was in 1932, it passed through all its stages in the Diet in three hours. At least no one can accuse the Mecklenburg Diet of being a talking shop.

State expenditure totals 859 million marks, of which 400 million marks have to be paid into reparations account. When we consider, in addition, the direct and indirect expenses of an occupation authority which is by no means modest in its demands, it is clear that there is not a lot left for domestic expenditure. Economy is necessary beyond dispute, but the Mecklenburg Government has its own ideas on where the economy axe should fall. Whilst the fees at all High Schools were raised and the State grant for poor students cut down, no less than 200,000 marks was granted as a subsidy to the "non-political" Free German Youth.

There is, of course, method in such decisions. The decree of the Ministry of Education that the children of "reactionary parents" should not be permitted to attend high schools—"reactionary" meaning anyone who is in any way displeasing to the "Unity" Party—has since been withdrawn, but that does not mean that the children of such parents can now attend them, even if they possess all

the requisite qualifications, as witness the fact that Dr. Mueller, High School Supervisor at the Ministry of Education, and, of course, a "Unity" Party man, struck the names of almost all applicants, both boys and girls, whose fathers were "intellectuals" from the list prepared by the matriculation commission, although the commission—consisting of the Rector of the University, the Deans, the Students' Council and representatives of the "Unity" trade union organization—had already given, other things being equal, preference to the children of workers and peasants.

Mecklenburg after the Collapse

After the German collapse in 1945 Mecklenburg and West Pomerania suffered terribly from the prevailing disorder and lawlessness. Undisciplined remnants of the German Army, bands of Vlassov troops, criminals let loose from prisons, and returning fugitives who had been taken away from their homes, poured over the land in a great stream. Murder, robbery, arson, violence and rape were committed on a vast scale. Very few of these crimes were ever punished, but there were exceptions.

A commercial clerk named Paul Schroeder was released from concentration camp by the advancing Red troops. Although he had worn the green triangle of the criminal in the camp, he presented himself as a fighter for Communism and a victim of Fascism, and in this guise he succeeded in winning the confidence of the local Russian Commander, who, like most of his kind, displayed a great lack of psychological insight in the choice of men for office under the Russian administration. In order to make himself important, Schroeder told the Russian Commandant a cock-and-bull story about the alleged existence of a Werwolf organization in Dalliendorf led by a landowner named Frau Westphal and two men named Holst and Redicke who lived on her estate. Dalliendorf in general was rotten through and through with Fascism, he declared, though in reality most of the inhabitants were anti-Fascist.

The three men named were arrested on the basis of Schroeder's charges, and an investigation was conducted by Russian officers with Schroeder's assistance. Despite the fact that the accused were severely beaten up during their examination, nothing could bring them to confess that they were secret Fascists. At midnight they were all three bundled into a motor-car and driven off in the direction of Stettin. On the way they were taken out and led into a wood, where they were shot. Their bodies were found next day. In March 1946 it was possible to bring Schroeder to trial, and he was sentenced to death.

The inevitable confusion and disorder were much aggravated by

this inability of the Russians to appoint honest and capable men as the new German administrators. The Schroeder case was no exception. In May 1945 the Russians appointed a former waiter named Wilhelm Stange, a member of the Communist Party, Landrat in Usedom. No sooner was he in office than he called in his friends, all of whom had criminal records. A man named Drzymalla, with previous convictions for criminal offences, was appointed Vice-Landrat; another criminal offender named Helfert was made treasurer; a third criminal offender named Kirstein was appointed District Police Chief. Even Stange's official chauffeur was an ex-gaol-bird named Wuttke.

Once the stage was set and his supers all in office, Stange set to work with a will. He travelled all over the area ceaselessly, "confiscating" money, jewellery, foodstuffs, wines and spirits, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes—in short, everything and anything that promised to bring him in a dishonest penny. The local population lived in fear of Stange's raids. Everything seized on his expeditions was taken to Swinemuende, and there distributed among the robber band.

Things grew so bad that the Mayors of Ahlbeck, Heringsdorf and Bansin came together to discuss what could be done to put an end to Stange's predatory reign. When Stange learned that something was in the wind he called a special conference of all his Mayors, and openly threatened "the rebels" that unless they came to heel he would get rid of them. As Stange always claimed that he was carrying out his raids and robberies at the orders of the Russian Kommandantur—needless to say both former Nazis and known anti-Fascists were indiscriminately chosen as his victims: the one thing they had in common was that they all had something worth stealing —the Mayors appealed to the Russian District Commandant. The latter replied that confiscations could only be carried out against former Nazis, and that, in any case, Stange was not entitled to feather his own nest from the proceeds. That was as far as the Mayors could get the Commandant to go. He was not prepared to suspend Stange, or even to investigate the charges against him.

Much encouraged by the result of the Mayors' action against him, Stange redoubled his efforts. In May 1945 he "arrested" the son of a widowed hotel proprietress in Swinemuende, and a day or two later he went to the mother and declared that her son had promised him wines, spirits and a gold watch. In addition, he demanded all the jewellery and cash on the premises. When the woman courageously refused to let herself be robbed in this shameless fashion, he threatened that she would never see her son alive again. At that threat the woman gave way, and handed over all the

jewellery and spare cash in her possession. But even that did not satisfy Stange, and a little later he came back to the hotel with his "Police Chief" and confiscated all its food stores.

A similar raid was carried out on a hotel in Misdroy owned by Herr and Frau Brandeburg. On this occasion Stange threatened his two victims that unless they immediately handed over all they possessed in portable values he would have them sent to Siberia. When Brandeburg lodged a complaint at the Landrat's office in Swinemuende he received a reply in the following terms:

> "The search at your hotel took place at the instructions of the Russian military authorities. The valuables confiscated during the course of the search have been used to meet the needs of the suffering population. As the well-being of the German people is in question in this matter your complaint is hereby rejected."

At about midnight on November 1st, 1945, Stange and two of his accomplices went to the farmhouse of a farmer named Schuenemann in Ulrichshorst and demanded entrance. When Schuenemann opened the door, the "Landrat" and his men set upon him with knuckle-dusters and then robbed the house of everything of value they could find.

Stange arrested the manager of a local firm, a man named Adolf Meyer. Meyer was kept under arrest for almost three weeks, during which time he was severely maltreated. In the meantime the "police" raided his home and took away everything of value.

At the beginning of June 1945 Stange and his men raided the house of a merchant named Bradenahl in Uckeritz and stole a cash-box containing 45,000 marks. When they had finished with Bradenahl they turned their attention to the other persons living in the house, and robbed them as well. A day or so later Stange's chauffeur, Wuttke, arrived at the house and "arrested" Bradenahl's servant, a woman named Teege, who was held in Swinemuende prison for a long time as an inconvenient witness.

On June 18th, 1946, Stange and Wuttke raided a hotel in Corswandt owned by a man named Schaefer. There they seized food-stuffs, clothing, linen and other valuables. When Schaefer's wife protested she was knocked down. The robbers then "arrested" Schaefer and his daughter Ilse. At the police-station in Swinemuende, Stange tried to blackmail the girl into giving herself to him in return for her release. When she refused he threatened to shoot her father.

Stange and his men were responsible for a whole series of such robberies with violence. Stange was always the leader. Sometimes he was accompanied by his chauffeur, Wuttke, and sometimes by

his "Police Chief", Drzymalla, or Kirstein and Helfert. The sums involved were very considerable. On one occasion they "confiscated" 50,000 cigars and 10,000 cigarettes. In order to cover himself, Stange actually distributed a part of this booty amongst "the suffering population", but the greater part he kept for himself and his accomplices.

Of course, such open robberies could not go on for ever even in the "New Democracy", and in the end Stange was arrested. It was then discovered that this fine Landrat was a professional criminal with a whole series of convictions for theft and housebreaking, and that he had spent many years serving terms of hard labour. The Greifswald court described him in very unflattering terms, and sentenced him to fifteen years hard labour. However, Stange, who was being held in Ueckermuende Prison, managed to escape in mysterious circumstances, and he has not been heard of since.

Sentenced Twice for the Same Offence

The state of the courts in Mecklenburg is chaotic. In many cases the courts no longer have trained professional judges. A report of an investigation ordered by the Central Legal Administration in Berlin reads:

> "Almost every verdict passed by the court in Greifswald begins: 'The accused was (or was not) formerly a member of the Nazi Party. He is now a member of the (whatever the party may be)' or 'He is now not organized'."

The same report, which was drawn up by a member of the "Unity" Party, who is therefore not to be suspected of "sabotage", also declares that the Greifswald court has only one official with any proper legal training, and that the judges are former minor officials with little or no expert knowledge.

An example of what can happen in the Eastern Zone in such circumstances is offered by the fate of a peasant farmer named Heinrich Roepcke of Mankmoos. Roepcke was brought before the court in Schwerin charged with "sabotage". The basis of the charge was that he had retained a certain portion of his potato crop as seed potatoes for the following sowings. The court gave the accused a good character as an industrious and reliable husbandman, and after hearing all the circumstances sentenced him to three months imprisonment. With that, unless the accused lodged an appeal, the matter was legally settled. However, when the sentence came to the notice of the local S.M.A., they were indignant at such a light sentence, and ordered that the case should be reopened. Although this was an impossibility in German law, Roepcke was brought before

the same court in Schwerin and re-tried before the same judge, President Engel, and the same lay judges on the same offence for which he had already been convicted and sentenced. This time, in deference to the Soviet Military Authority, he was sentenced to six years imprisonment. The only new evidence offered at the second trial was that Roepcke had been a member of the Nazi Party from 1937 to 1940.

This time, of course, Roepcke did appeal, but on August 9th, 1946, his appeal was disallowed by the Court of Appeal in Schwerin in the following words:

> "Once the S.M.A. had quashed the sentence of the court and ordered a re-trial, the procedure adopted by the court was the only one open to it. The S.M.A.—as needs no detailed proof—was doubtless entitled to quash a sentence of the court even after it had become legally valid and to order that a new trial should be held and a heavier sentence imposed. There can be no question therefore of any violation of the principle of legal validity because the first sentence had become non-existent with the decision of the S.M.A."

What remains of law and security in such circumstances? And how can peasants carry on at all if they are to suffer heavy sentences for withholding seed for the next harvest? Naturally these were questions which peasants everywhere began to ask themselves anxiously. The brutal sentence and the brutal procedure were no doubt intended to "encourage the others", but their actual effect was very different from what the Russians had imagined. 'The Roepcke affair caused something like a panic amongst the farming population, and men began to get rid of their land to anybody who would lease it, rather than risk tilling it themselves in such circumstances. The movement became so serious that in the end the sentence of six years on Roepcke was reduced to six months by order of Premier Hoecker. Roepcke had already been under arrest for four months, and he was released immediately, the remaining two months of his sentence was suspended, and he was bound over to be of good conduct for three years.

Obviously the S.M.A. had realized that it had gone too far, or Hoecker would never have dared to reduce Roepcke's sentence. At the same time, this is a typical instance of the clumsy interference of the Russian occupation authorities in German affairs. They brutally intervene and force the German courts to do their bidding, thereby making German justice a farce, and in the end they have to withdraw with nothing accomplished but a shocking scandal and a further shattering of public confidence.

The case of another peasant, named Theodor Gessner, of Bardenitz, is also quite typical of the general lawlessness which exists in Mecklenburg under bolshevist rule. In the autumn of 1945 Gessner was working on the Hagenow air-field with his three horses carting wood for the Red Army. Whilst engaged in this work he was arrested by the Mayor of Rodeluebbe, Teichmann, and two detectives named Schulz and Lange as a suspected "Polish spy". Under this pretext he was kept under arrest for six weeks. In the meantime the three guardians of the law sold his three horses and shared the proceeds among them. During their examination of Gressner the three had discovered that he owned some furniture which was being kept in store by a friend in Berlin-Lichtenberg. Teichmann had this fetched. Gessner was then handed over to the C.I.D. in Schwerin as a "Polish spy". On investigating the matter, the authorities in Schwerin decided that the charge was baseless, and Gessner was released. When Gessner returned to his home in Bardenitz, Detective Lange went to his house and informed him that if he valued his skin he had better get out of the neighbourhood quickly, as the Russian Commandant had ordered him to be shot if he was found there again. Lange's anxiety to get rid of him can be imagined. He thereupon escorted him to the C.I.D. in Hagenow, where he was again kept under arrest; this time for a week. From there he was transferred to the C.I.D. in Ludwigslust as "a Polish spy". The further investigations had the same result, and Gessner was again released. In the meantime he had lost everything he possessed. Now he appealed to the local Russian Commander and also to the Public Prosecutor's Department in Schwerin. From neither source was he able to obtain any satisfaction.

A letter from his wife describing the facts arrived at the Central Legal Administration in Berlin on March 5th, 1947. As it was dated January 30th, inquiries were made into the cause of the delay, and it was discovered that the unfortunate woman was in prison serving a sentence of two months for having "slandered" one of the two detectives in the case, the man Schulze.

Confession Extorted by Torture

The former Social Democrat, Bernhard Langenbeck, who had been arrested by the Gestapo in April 1945 on a charge of undermining the military resistance of Germany, and was saved from severe punishment only by the German collapse, was appointed commissarial Mayor of Altwarp by the Russian occupation authorities. Shortly afterwards a man named Willi Lehmann returned from service in the navy to his home in Altwarp. He had been decorated for good conduct, and was not in any way either a victim or an

opponent of Fascism. He had also been twice convicted for theft. However, he succeeded in worming his way into the confidence of the local Russian authorities as an "old Communist". He immediately began to intrigue against the former Social Democrat Langenbeck, and finally he succeeded in securing his dismissal and his own appointment. A formal appeal to the Landrat in Ueckermuende was sent back by Divisional Inspector Lovitz to the Mayor of Altwarp, now Lehmann. Lehmann thereupon ordered a search to be made of Langenbeck's home, and foodstuffs, carpets, clothing, and other valuables were "confiscated", most of which Lehmann kept for himself. At the same time some old correspondence from the thirties between Langenbeck and his wife was also seized. On the basis of sentences torn out of their context, Lehmann managed to persuade the Russians to arrest Langenbeck as a suspected Fascist. The Russians who arrested him brutally maltreated their prisoner in an effort to make him confess that he was a Fascist and a war criminal. Under this torture Langenbeck signed a protocol without knowing what was in it, and then he was released. A subsequent medical examination found bruises all over his body and two cracked ribs.

A few days later, on February 25th, 1946, he was again arrested, at Lehmann's orders, and sent to the police prison in Ueckermuende, where he was once more brutally maltreated by Divisional Inspector Lovitz because he refused to admit the truth of the protocol he had been compelled to sign under duress. Lovitz also threatened him with a revolver, and fired it twice near his head in order to intimidate him.

In the meantime Langenbeck's wife was told by the local secretary of the Communist Party, a man named Megow, that unless her husband was "reasonable" and changed his political views he would be expelled from the neighbourhood. Whilst Langenbeck was in prison Lehmann arrived with a cart and confiscated the piano for the use of the local Communist hall. Langenbeck's wife was so bullied and intimidated that she fled. Her husband was finally expelled, as Megow had threatened, and he arrived in Holstein, over the zonal frontier, dirty and in rags and absolutely penniless.

Langenbeck's fate is not an isolated case. A man named Fritz Auch of Ludwigslust was arrested by the "People's Police" because he was alleged to have made derogatory remarks about the "Unity" Party and to have expressed sympathy for the Western Powers. When he denied these "charges" he was brutally beaten up by the police in order to force him to confess. He was kept in prison for almost six months, whilst the police worked hard on him to "soften him up". He was maltreated on many occasions and denied the

services of a defending lawyer. In the end he was brought before the Russian N.K.V.D. and released because no evidence could be put forward against him to show that he was "a supporter of Dr. Schumacher". How would the unfortunate man have fared if all these terrible charges against him could have been proved? To have spoken slightingly of the "Unity" Party, to have expressed sympathy with the Western Powers, and to have been a supporter of Dr. Schumacher—the imagination boggles at his fate.

Illegal Confiscations

In a conversation in March 1947 the Attorney-General at the time, Dr. Saling, admitted that the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association still confiscated lands. When he was asked on what legal grounds these confiscations took place and whose property was being confiscated, he shrugged his shoulders and declared that they were the lands of people whom the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association disapproved of. When asked why he did not intervene against such illegalities, he again shrugged his shoulders and replied: "What can I do about it? The leaders of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association are all in the Diet, and the Minister of the Interior backs all they do."

Small wonder, therefore, that complaints about illegal and unjustified expropriations are legion. In many cases peasants returning from Russian prisoner-of-war camps find their farms have been seized, although they were never members of the Nazi Party or politically active. In such cases the reason given is the threadbare charge that they had "ill-treated foreign-born workers" engaged on their farms. The Soviet Military Authority has ordered the Diet not to investigate any of these innumerable complaints. The following statement of a former prisoner of war, a man named Otto Hartwich, now living in Kiel, speaks volumes. It is dated March 15th, 1947, and appeals against the illegal confiscation of his goods and chattels by the local authorities of the town of Stralsund:

"When I returned on November 1st, 1945, from a British prisoners-of-war camp I found that my flat and everything in it had been confiscated by the Stralsund municipality and given to a certain Frau Lerson, who is a municipal employee. The confiscation of my home and my furniture is a completely arbitrary act without any legal basis, because neither my wife nor myself was ever a member of the Nazi Party or any of its subsidiary or auxiliary organizations, and, in fact, I was a member of the Social Democratic Party. I lodged my appeal against the confiscation at once, but neither the town of Stralsund nor the authorities in

Schwerin will give me back my things, which I urgently need as a wounded ex-prisoner of war. I have not even a bed of my own to sleep on."

The man was ill-advised to mention that he had formerly been a member of the Social Democratic Party; he would have stood a better chance of getting his things back if he had been a Nazi.

Confiscations by Right of Conquest

In the first weeks after the German collapse, robbery, murder and rape were everyday happenings. By the time things began to calm down a little whole streets had been completely plundered by the Russian liberators. Furniture and effects were loaded on lorries and sent off to the east, together with cattle and livestock of all kinds. Cattle, and in particular pigs and feathered livestock, were systematically seized by bands of plunderers who scoured the countryside. From time to time, particularly when troops were withdrawn and relieved by others, violence, robbery, murder and rape flared up again to new heights. A wave of suicides bore witness to the despair and desperation of the local inhabitants. In Rostock alone there were 400 suicides, and 300 even in a small town like Waren.

The local administration was, and is, chiefly in the hands of Communists, and sixty-four out of seventy-four Mayors were members of the Communist Party. Of the others, nine were members of the Social Democratic Party, and one a member of the Christian Democratic Union. Amongst the Communist Mayors types like Stange and Lehmann were not at all rarities. In innumerable cases Communists in official positions misused their authority to steal valuables, seize houses, furniture and land. When the Communist leader Wilhelm Pieck came to deliver a speech in Schwerin, the police ordered that streamers with slogans should be displayed to welcome him. For this purpose several hundred sheets were cut up, though fugitives were still sleeping on straw in outhouses.

In the summer of 1945 the Russians began to tear up the second track on the main lines, and to tear up a number of secondary lines. By the beginning of 1947 the dismantling of the railway system had gone so far that many small towns and villages were completely isolated because rails, sleepers, equipment and rolling-stock had been removed. As there is also an acute shortage of other means of transport—lorries, etc.—it is proving increasingly difficult to transport agricultural produce. However, the Russians are not much interested in such things, and although in March 1947 Major-General Kvashnin, the chief of the transport department of the Central Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.D.), had solemnly

announced that the dismantling of the German railway system had now definitely reached its end, another 375 miles of track were torn up in the following summer. By August 4th eight lines had ceased to exist in Mecklenburg.

After the entry of the Russian troops most of the big farms were occupied by them, with the result that for weeks many places received no meat, fats, milk or other agricultural supplies. When the first supply difficulties were to some extent overcome, a general registration of the population began, accompanied by large-scale arrests carried out by the N.K.V.D. It must not be thought that only Nazis and former war criminals were arrested. Anyone who opened his mouth to protest against the lawlessness which prevailed under Russian rule, or against the lack of supplies, ran a great danger of arrest. One of those arrested in this way was the Mayor of Rostock, Dr. Heydermann, because he represented the interests of the local population more vigorously than the Russians cared for. He spent several months in a concentration camp at Neu Brandenburg. The four leading booksellers of Rostock were taken out of their beds in the middle of the night for displaying a book considered by the Russians to be "reactionary"—a blanket formula which covers anything the Russians care to make it cover. They have not been heard of since. Amongst those seized and sent to concentration camp were all landowners owning more than 100 hectares of land (247 acres). Together with their families they were all packed off to camps in Thuringia, as part of the "land-reform" plan.

The first big campaign of dismantling began as early as the autumn of 1945, and endless loads of material were carried off to the east. Whole dockyards and harbours were stripped, and the bigger and more important ones were taken over by Soviet companies. Eight out of fifteen sugar-factories were dismantled; the largest and most modern ones, of course. The great copper vats were dismantled at the Mehn and Ohlerich brewery in Rostock. Chains were fastened round them, and they were dragged through the streets by Russian tanks—a procedure which can hardly have improved their condition. A start was made with the dismantling of the great works in Peenemunde which manufactured V.2 weapons, but after a while it was stopped, and the works are now in operation again. Even the Rostock University was not excluded from the dismantling, and its laboratories lost their equipment. The dental clinic attached to the university—one of the most modern and best equipped in Germany—was completely stripped.

Those industrial undertakings which have not been dismantled are now working chiefly for reparations account or for the requirements of the occupation forces, including the meat-packers in Bad

Doberan and the biggest canning works in North Germany—Schulze & Soehne in Ludwigslust. The vinegar works Kuehne in Rostock operates both a day and a night shift, but during the course of six months about a gill of vinegar was distributed to the population. A firm manufacturing roofing-felt is also working day and night, but entirely for Russian requirements; no roofing-felt is available for even the most urgent repairs locally.

Those undertakings which have been left in German hands are crippled by acute shortages of almost everything they need for production—carbide, oxygen, tools, nails, wire, cement, and so on without end. At the instructions of the S.M.A., the authorities issue production plans and quotas without bothering their heads in the least about where the raw materials, etc., are to come from. Transport, fuel of all kinds, gas and electric power—everything is short. Agriculture is also greatly hampered by the constant cuts in the electricity supply. Farmers have often had to thresh at night owing to lack of power during the day.

Another heavy burden is the cutting down and carting off of large quantities of timber. Mecklenburg in particular is obliged to deliver a great deal of timber for reparations account. In the spring of 1947, 700,000 cubic metres were waiting for transport, 400,000 at the railway stations and 300,000 in the woods. Part of this timber was left so long that it deteriorated and became unsuitable for building purposes. Up to 30,000 cubic metres a month could have been loaded and transported by rail if there had been sufficient trucks. To help out, the S.M.A. ordered that all available transport on the surrounding farms should be mobilized to shift the timber and fulfil the delivery plan. Such orders have to be obeyed by all concerned, but the result was that work fell behind on the farms because they lost the use of their draught animals, etc. The Russians take no account of such things, and they still expect agricultural production to go on.

The constant interference of the Russian authorities in the administration of what German production is left is a source of great bitterness to the population, which is, of course, the first to suffer. A factory taken off domestic production and put on to Russian requirements exhibited a notice outside its gates: "Now working exclusively for Russian orders". Someone with a sardonic sense of humour put a great election streamer of the "Unity" Party underneath bearing the words: "Vote for the Unity Party".

Supplies of woven material and leather goods practically ceased throughout the whole of 1947. There was no cloth for new clothes and no needles and cotton to repair the old. Many people went about in sacking and other materials never intended for such a

purpose, and the wearing of old uniforms with the markings removed was a mass phenomenon. Many people, including students, were compelled to resort to clogs when their shoes were worn out.

Mecklenburg is an agricultural State, and two years after the end of hostilities one might think that at least there would be no serious shortage of essential foodstuffs such as potatoes, but there is. The streets of Pasewalk, Guestrov and other towns in Mecklenburg have innumerable "exchange and mart" corners, where appeals can be read: "Exchange washing-powder for potatoes, apply. . . ." "Pullover offered in exchange for potatoes, apply . . ." and so on. The inhabitants of the towns scour the countryside for miles around in the hope of being able to get a few kilograms of potatoes. The authorities are well aware of this, and therefore at unexpected points they block the roads, and the police confiscate any potatoes the foragers may have been able to obtain. After the dreadful period of cold in 1947 the population were without potatoes for months. Occasionally the authorities distributed a ration of sauerkraut instead; that was all. However, the distilleries never went short of potatoes, even seed potatoes were sent to them when ordinary supplies ran short. In the first half year of 1947 the production of schnapps was even increased. Under the bolshevist system this problem is considered purely from a taxation angle. The supply of food to the people is a secondary factor. The fact that an increasing consumption of alcohol is a deleterious social phenomenon is also ignored.

The only measures the authorities take are those ordered by the Russians. In June 1947 the Government issued an ukase:

> "The progress of milk deliveries is totally unsatisfactory. From to-day, in the interests of the delivery plan, no more milk will be distributed on the rations, except for children up to the age of five. . . . All municipal authorities must immediately appoint commissions to control the milk deliveries in their area. Voluntary mutual assistance must be organized on a large scale to help the individual farmer fulfil his obligations. The District authorities are responsible for the proper execution of these measures."

Stop the distribution of milk except to children up to the age of five; organize "voluntary" mutual aid amongst the farmers and peasants; make the Landraete responsible! The Landraete pass it on to the Mayors, who get nervous and irritable; they pass it on to the farmers and peasants, who abuse the Government—and the population tighten their belts.

In times of acute shortage black marketeers and spivs of all sorts flourish. One of them was laid by the heels in Ludwigslust in the person of Herr Morgenthal, a man who had been in concentration camp as a criminal offender, but had falsely represented himself as a "victim of Fascism". He was the friend and protege of the "Unity" Party Mayor of Ludwigslust, Comrade Theek. Like his colleagues Schwabe and Schettig elsewhere, Morganthal had been supplying scarce foodstuffs "off the rations" to various influential persons and "to a party"; unnamed—though everyone could guess which. That was as far as the Public Prosecutor got in his investigations. Morganthal was suddenly released "on higher instructions", and left the neighbourhood, as also did the Mayor Comrade Theek —"to study social science", as the official explanation of his absence declared.

Class Distinctions in the Baltic Seaside Resorts

The coasts of Mecklenburg were always famous for their seaside resorts, and since the establishment of the new democracy under Russian tutelage much play—along the lines of the Nazi "Strength through Joy" campaign—has been made with the statement that henceforth these spas and resorts along the Baltic are for "the working people" instead of for the rich. The state of affairs in the fashionable seaside resorts on the Baltic to-day is reminiscent of conditions in the seaside resorts and spas of the Soviet Union, where bolshevist propaganda also claims that the former palaces and sanatoria of the rich are at the disposal of the working class. It is the same old swindle. They are open only to a privileged class, and where ordinary workers and their families do occasionally get in, the food and other conditions are very poor.

Registration at the big hotels now has to include the details of "party membership" of all guests. What sort of guests these are can be seen from the fact that at the Hotel Goehrenhof the price for a portion of sole is 60 marks, and at the Rheinschloesschen a cup of coffee costs 10 marks. A number of restaurant proprietors have been fined and even imprisoned for over-charging, but the "Intourist" Hotel at Schwarzburg in Thuringia charges 70 marks a day for pension without coupons. But what the Russian fiscus can do a German hotel proprietor may not do. Miners and their families sent to the Baltic by the Free German Trade Unions find when they arrive in the morning they get four small slices of bread, and another two in the evening, and nondescript soup and stews, whilst their children rarely see a drop of milk the whole time they are there. At Zinnovitz a pound of eels costs between 80 and 100 marks, and a pound of flounders 50 marks.

Exports for the Soviet Union

With the loss of Stettin and Koenigsberg, the smaller ports and harbours of Mecklenburg could have developed into very valuable assets for the economy of the Eastern Zone, but they have been paralysed by an acute shortage of all supplies and equipment. In addition, many of these smaller ports and harbours have also been dismantled. The waters around them and the roads into them have become sanded up, and the remaining bagger machinery is not sufficient to keep them open. Spare parts for such machinery as is available are almost impossible to obtain. In many places the roads are so silted up that shipping has to operate a one-way traffic, making it impossible for ships to pass each other in the narrow channels still left open. The quays have also been so much damaged and so neglected that it is dangerous to do too much baggering. The dockyards are all working exclusively for reparations account, and the more modern of them are building ocean-going ships for the Russians. Their facilities are not available for repairs. In consequence the coastal shipping system is in dire danger of collapse.

The harbours have been completely taken over by the Russian military authorities. In Stralsund, Wismar and Rostock civilians are not allowed into the dock and harbour area without a special permit. In Rostock a high wall has been built completely cutting off the dock and harbour area, and soldiers armed with tommy-guns are posted along it day and night. Reparations goods and current production items are shipped to the Soviet Union from here, and all those engaged in the work are sworn to silence.

Artificial fertilizers are exported in masses from Wismar harbour to Sweden and Finland for Soviet account. Rostock harbour is used chiefly for sending off the machinery dismantled in Germany to the Soviet Union. Cases containing machinery, spare parts, tools, etc., are piled mountain high along the front, awaiting transport. A report from Stralsund in February 1947 declared that the Derutra (a Soviet Russo-German transport undertaking) was shipping potash and coal, and using the whole harbour installation for itself, with the result that communication with the island of Ruegen was made very difficult. The Rostock Council had to build a special quay to deal with traffic to and from Ruegen, including the laying down of 500 yards of special railway track. In the meantime the Derutra demands privileged treatment from the Council and lower tariffs for the use of the harbour installation. It was economically impossible for the Council to lower crane and haulage rates because they were already below cost, but the Derutra is a Soviet undertaking, and its wishes have to be complied with; the town must stand

the loss. This is typical of a great deal of "extra" reparations which are extracted by the Russians.

There are many other Russian undertakings which enjoy similarly privileged monopolist positions in the German economic system—for instance, Techno-Export, which exports machinery, apparatus of various sorts, cars, laboratory equipment; Promexport, which exports coal, fertilizers, chemicals and other mined products; Exportljon, which exports cellulose, artificial silk, textile raw materials, and half-finished goods; Rasnoexport, which exports leather, boots and shoes, toys, musical instruments, toilet articles, medical needs, cameras, etc. The German producers are never told anything about the prices which are obtained by the Russians for their products when they are sold on the world markets, but it is known that many of them are dumped in various countries at very low prices at the cost of the German economic system. The hard currency obtained in this fashion goes into the account of the Foreign Trading Department in Moscow.

The German fishing industry has to fish according to plans drawn up by the Russians and their agents. Certain quotas are set for delivery, and if they are not reached the German fishermen run the risk of being hauled before the courts and charged with sabotage, like their colleagues in the fields. Five per cent of the catch alone is ear-marked for German domestic consumption; everything else goes to the occupation forces or to reparations account, chiefly to the the canning factories. As there is not enough fish to go round, the population on the coast receive no allocation at all.

In addition, thanks to Russian carelessness, fishing in the Baltic has become a dangerous trade. Men working the fish areas to the north of Bornholm have frequently found themselves suffering on their return from serious gas-burns on the hands and arms, and quite often the eyes have been affected. Investigations revealed that the Russians were sinking German yellow-cross gas stocks in the fishing-grounds of the Bornholm Basin. Not only have the fishermen been attacked by the gas, but their catch has been affected, and sometimes rendered unfit for human consumption.

CHAPTER VIII

LABOUR CONDITIONS

TO UNDERSTAND fully the role that "Direction of Labour" plays in the Soviet zone to-day it is necessary to take a summary look at developments since 1917. The original principle, "he who does not work neither shall he eat", quite acceptable in itself, and directed against social parasitism, has undergone a great change since the introduction of the Five-Year Plan system. The obligation placed on the Soviet citizen is no longer that he should earn his bread by the work of his hands—or as the case may be—but that he should earn it by performing the particular kind of work the State demands that he should perform, which is a very different matter. Incidentally, this principle and its Soviet extension do not apply to the new ruling class which is already well advanced in formation in the Soviet Union. The personal desires of the individual as to what kind of work he would like to do carry very little weight in the Soviet system. Whoever seeks to evade the task given to him by the State is liable to punishment, and so is the man who changes his work without the consent of the authorities. A man's labour obligation is not limited to the neighbourhood of his home; he must go to the Taigus, to the Far North, to the mines anywhere, or to the forests if the authorities decide that he shall do so—in fact he is under an obligation to go anywhere and do anything at the order of the authorities. At the same time very little care is taken of him, and his food, his lodgings and his general conditions are often extremely bad, whilst his cultural requirements are practically ignored.

However, despite the labour laws it is not always easy to treat "free" labour in this fashion. If wages and working conditions get too bad, then the workers will take the risk of leaving, despite the punishments which threaten them. The worst work performed under the worst conditions is therefore much more suitable for unfree labour, prisoners and those who have been banished by administrative sentence. These labour forces work under armed guard. Although, by the nature of things, such supervision cannot prevent isolated attempts to escape, it does hold the great mass to the job. In addition, this slave labour—for that is what it is—is very cheap. Despite its many disadvantages, slave labour, when it is so ruthlessly

exploited as is the case in the Soviet Union, saves the capital which would otherwise have to be invested in machinery.

In order to meet the great demand for labour to carry out the Five-Year Plans, the Soviet authorities began to use the political opponents of the regime—the so-called "enemies of the people"—and criminal elements as forced labour power. In the early days of the Soviet regime the authorities tended, in accordance with modern ideas, to regard the criminal as the victim of social abuses and to attempt to reform him rather than to punish him. But later on, with the increased need for labour power, such ideas receded into the background. The administration of the penal system was handed over to the Soviet Secret Police, the G.P.U., now known as the N.K.V.D., and in their hands it rapidly became, from the thirties onwards, a means of mobilizing masses of labour power for the digging of canals, the sinking of mines, the building of railways, factories and so on in accordance with the requirements of the Five-Year Plans. A particularly large source of this slave-labour power was opened up at the time of the enforced collectivization of the land when many millions of peasants who objected to losing their land were designated as "Kulaks" and deported from their homes to swell the army of slave labour. The conditions in the forced-labour camps were so terrible that the prisoners in them began to die off like flies, and the wastage of human life was enormous.

At the same time, the need for labour power became even more urgent, and the N.K.V.D. did not hesitate to create new categories of "enemies of the people" in order to meet it. In this way millions of innocent people were shovelled into these camps. In the course of the Five-Year Plans slave labour became a very important economic factor in the Soviet Union, and largely provides the basis of "the building up of Socialism". Without slave labour the carrying out of most of the important preliminary work of the Five-Year Plans would have been impossible.

It is quite natural that in a conquered country like the Eastern Zone of Germany the Soviet authorities are no more considerate to labour than they are at home, though, of course, "bolshevization" cannot be carried out in one fell swoop, but must be introduced by degrees with the assistance of the Socialist Unity Party. However, in view of the world situation it is now being carried through at a speed which is probably in excess of the original intention. A glance at what happens in practice in the Eastern Zone will demonstrate that there, as well as in the Soviet Union, it is only a short step from the principle that every man shall labour to the slave system of forced labour. The Russian occupation authorities find their task made easier by much that was introduced under the Nazis, and in

fact their methods are very similar indeed, so that here, too, it is really becoming more and more difficult to distinguish between Fascism and Bolshevism.

"*By Order . . .*"

In order to mobilize the required labour forces for dismantling, digging and all other tasks requiring masses of workers, the Labour Offices in the Eastern Zone call up men in much the same way as they were formerly called up for military service. These local authorities are themselves, of course, under the orders of the Soviet Military Authority. For instance, on November 5th, 1946, the Beeskov-Storkov district was ordered by the S.M.A. to provide 1,000 workers to take part in the dismantling of the great Daimler-Benz works in Ludwigsfelde. The Landrat of the district then allotted so many workers to each of the labour exchanges, and it was their responsibility "to call up" the required number of men "liable to direction". "Labour Obligation" is the camouflage name for forced labour.

The following is the sort of "calling-up order" the unfortunate worker whose name has been chosen finds in his letter-box one morning:

"Teltow Labour Exchange,
Ruebchenstrasse, 5,
Teltow.

August Mueller.
(address)

"*Labour Direction Notice*

"At the orders of the S.M.A. you are hereby instructed to present yourself on May 8th, 1947, punctually at eight a.m. at the Engineers Barracks 101 in Mellensee near Zossen on the Mellensee-Rehagen Road, bringing eating utensils and a blanket with you. Before your departure you will inform your Local Inhabitants Registry of your change of domicile. Your train leaves Marien-dorf station at 7.42 a.m. In the event of your failure to appear for work as instructed you will be reported to the District Kommandantur and you will be liable to punishment in accordance with S.M.A. Order No. 3.

"(Sig.) (Seal)."

Sometimes the concluding sting of these "calling-up notices" reads: "In the event of your failing to comply with these instructions, you must reckon with political measures against you". This was the threat considered most suitable by the Labour Exchange in Magde-

burg when it was mobilizing workers to take part in the dismantling of the Giesches Erben Works. Over the main entrance to this Labour Exchange are the words: "Liberty, Socialism, Democracy".

Such measures are not confined to purely economic matters; they are often used as means of political intimidation and punishment. For instance, in Klein-Machnow, in the Teltow district to the south-west of Berlin, the "Unity" Party did very badly in the municipal elections. Twenty-three candidates of the Christian Democratic Union were elected and only five candidates of the "Unity" Party. Almost immediately afterwards all the male adults up to the age of sixty living in Klein-Machnow received an official notice from the Labour Exchange in Teltow informing them that henceforth they were enrolled as "workers liable to direction". The next step was taken on October 17th, when, early in the morning, police went from house to house reading the following order to all the men concerned:

> "At the orders of the Russian Kommandantur you are hereby instructed to present yourself to the Labour Exchange in Teltow on October 18th at nine o'clock in the morning with march pack under pain of police punishment in the event of failure to comply."

None of the men concerned was able to obtain a written copy of this peak performance of "Democratic Administration" in the Eastern Zone. Several of the candidates of the bourgeois parties in the district, including Mayor Nikolas, a man named Johne, a Protestant pastor named Grossmann in Teupitz, Mayor Hinze and a man named Nierenberger in Tornov, and two men named Bansemer and Fengler in Neuendorf, received an official notice the same day intimating that their previous employment had been cancelled with immediate effect, and that they were to present themselves for "labour duties" the following morning "with eating utensils and blankets".

The mobilization of labour forces for whatever the occupation authorities desire is carried out systematically through the Labour Exchanges. Forms and minutes are circulated, and the whole action receives a careful bureaucratic preparation in exactly the same way as that in which men were formerly called up for military service. On principle only unemployed workers are supposed to be "liable to direction", but as there are often not sufficient unemployed workers available, workers already employed in factories and elsewhere are "called up" and their "present employment is cancelled with immediate effect".

The following is one of the many forms which circulate within the bureaucratic apparatus for the organization of the new Soviet "call-up":

"Dresden Labour Exchange Urban District No.

"Trade group.....

"*Labour Obligation Requirements*

"(Not for Publication)

"Name:.....

"1. The above named is to be placed under labour obligation by the Aue Labour Exchange (Erzgebirge) as a..... until further notice or from..... to .....

"2. The enrolment is valid/not valid.

(Space for reasons)

"3. Excused from Direction until .....

"December 12th 1947. (Sig.) (Stamp)."

In the beginning former members of Nazi organizations were the chief sufferers under this system, but as their numbers proved insufficient to fulfil all the Russian demands for labour, men—and women—of all strata of the population are now being included, even such as are known anti-Fascists, particularly when they are not Communists. Members of the "Unity" Party are generally spared, but not always; when large forces of labour are urgently necessary, then all considerations go by the board.

In order to make the task of "labour mobilization" easier, Labour Exchanges often do not bother to call up individual workers, but issue orders to firms to supply the required number. The following is an example of the way in which this is done:

"Dresden Labour Exchange
"Main Office, Maternistrasse, 17.

"Re: provision of male labour forces for temporary use at the orders of the Occupation Power.

"To the Firm of Richard Fischer G.m.b.H.
Wienerstrasse, 12, II.,
Dresden.

"The Dresden Labour Exchange has been instructed to provide several hundred male workers for work in other places. Male workers for this purpose are no longer available in the usual way. In agreement with the authoritative quarters, they must be obtained for the time being by withdrawing men from the factories. In order not to burden individual firms excessively, the call up of men has been spread over a number of firms.

"In agreement with the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the Economic Office and the Free German Trade Unions, your

firm is to supply twenty of the requisite men between the ages of 18 and 45. The men chosen by you must present themselves on Monday next, May 12th 1947, at the Dresden Labour Exchange in order to complete the necessary formalities when they will also be told where they are to go.

"The work to be carried out is of the greatest importance and it cannot be postponed. The workers chosen must therefore present themselves at the fixed time without fail. You and your works representatives are therefore asked to make yourselves responsible that the above-mentioned number of male workers from your firm present themselves punctually as instructed.

"You are requested to lodge no objections to these instructions, as such objections will on no account be taken into consideration. Your attention is drawn to the fact that in the event of failure to comply with the above instructions you will become liable to punishment under Order No. 3 of the Control Council.

"(Sig.) (Stamp)."

Order No. 3 of the Control Council empowers the occupation authorities to mobilize labour forces by compulsory order for urgent tasks connected with reconstruction. In fact the Order is constantly violated, and workers are compulsorily mobilized for work which is neither urgent nor connected with reconstruction; much of the work is, on the contrary, connected with dismantling.

The following report of a victim shows what happens at these obligatory labour mobilisations:

"At the beginning of September 1947 about a thousand men and women were mobilized by the Labour Exchanges with the assistance of the local branches of the "Unity" Party and the Free German Trade Unions, and concentrated at the former Engineers' Barracks at Mellensee for forced labour on dismantling. In most cases the "mobilisation order" arrived only a matter of hours before the time for reporting at the barracks. Almost all those compulsorily mobilised in this way were men and women who had returned to their homes from exile during the war, or who were fugitives. Many of them were in steady work, and had congratulated themselves on at last being with their families again and in a position to build up a permanent home after the years of unrest and separation. Their bitterness can be imagined.

"The first shock was when they were all put into barracks in Saalov. The window-panes were broken; there was no means of heating the rooms; the washing-basins, lavatory pans, and so on were almost all broken, and apart from the usual double-tiered barrack beds, mostly in a dilapidated condition, there was no other

furniture. After a ten-hour day engaged in dismantling work these men and women had to set to and make themselves the barest necessities to turn the rooms into something approaching human habitations. Tables, benches and stools were knocked together, and glass obtained to put in the broken windows. The only tools available were those they had been instructed to bring with them.

"The only arrangement for medical attention to these thousand men and women was the local panel doctor, who was already greatly over-worked. The untrained nurses in the barracks had no medicaments or equipment. They had, for instance, not even one clinical thermometer between them. There were no bandages or any medicaments for use in the event of serious accidents at work. Six weeks after the workers had arrived no blankets had been distributed to them. Although the winter was drawing on, no visible arrangements were being made to provide heating. 'But for my wife and kids I'd clear out', is a remark one hears constantly."

Small firms, particularly of builders, are directly instructed to carry out orders of the occupation authorities with their own labour power. The following is an example of how this is done:

"To the firm.....

"*Labour Obligation*

"The Soviet Military Authority, Troop Unit ..... requires ..... men for the execution of certain artisan work. The men, bringing their tools with them, are to be provided by you. The owner of the firm, or his representative, is made responsible for the punctual carrying out of these instructions and for the proper execution of the work concerned. A refusal to perform this work is illegal and will involve measures on the part of the Kommandantur."

"(Sig.) (Stamp)."

German Mayors are also roped in to mobilize the inhabitants of their boroughs for forced labour. The following is a typical example of how it is done:

"The Office of the Mayor

Wilhelmshorst, 21.X.47.

"To all Inhabitants!

"I draw the attention of all inhabitants to the following telephone message from the Beelitz Kommandantur:

"On October 22nd the local woods are to be beaten. All the inhabitants of both sexes are to take part in this work. The woods are to be searched for discarded arms and ammunition. At the

same time persons met with not in possession of valid papers are to be seized. Both members of the Red Army and German policemen will take part in the operation, which will begin punctually at 6 a.m. In the event of an insufficient number of inhabitants appearing at that time to take part in the search, Red Army men will fetch them from the surrounding houses.

"In pursuance of these instructions of the Kommandantur, all inhabitants, in so far as they are not bedridden or otherwise disabled, must assemble at 6 a.m. in front of Hammer's. Failure to comply with these instructions would result in the action indicated above. Therefore in the interests of our community I beg all inhabitants to present themselves at the stated time to take part in the operations.

"(Stamp) The Mayor (Sig.)"

The content and tone and the accompanying circumstances of the above order, together with the well-founded anxiety of the Mayor not to give Russian soldiery a pretext for breaking into houses, are illuminating.

Quite generally it is not difficult to imagine what a welcome opportunity the Soviet labour mobilization system offers for chicanery against enemies, for political intimidation and for the paying off of personal scores. At the same time these arbitrary methods of mobilizing labour, including the sudden taking of men from the factories, makes it even more difficult for the German economic system in the Eastern Zone to function satisfactorily.

Very often the work to be performed is of no particular economic importance and not connected with urgent reconstruction work. Such orders are frequently issued at the whim of local Russian commanders. A typical example of the reasons for which forced labour is mobilized is contained in an order of the Russian Kommandantur in Schwerin, dated May 7th, addressed to all offices in the town, instructing them to send their employees to help in the work of building a special stadion for the celebration of Red Army Day on May 9th. Before long, therefore, hordes of office-workers, many of them of advanced years, were busily engaged painting fences, laying paths, fixing benches and so on to help on the great and urgent constructive work of preparing for a celebration for the Red Army.

In March 1947 the Mayor of Potsdam ordered—at the instructions of the Soviet Military Authority—that all the larger firms in the borough should provide a certain proportion of their staff alternately to assist in the spring sowings on surrounding farms. Every morning the workers told off to take part in these operations would appear at the Labour Exchange to be loaded on to lorries and sent off not to

farms, but to parks, sport arenas and such places for obviously non-essential work. When local protests grew against the wastage of skilled labour power involved, the local Press of the "Unity" Party retorted with a campaign against "Reactionaries and Fascists", who were alleged to be undermining the constructive work of the authorities.

These forced-labour drives, carried out at the orders of the S.M.A., often involve many thousands of men. For instance, no fewer than 10,000 workers were mobilized to carry out the dismantling of the brown-coal pits at Regis-Breitingen, and another 5,000 for the dismantling of the Lauta Works in Hoyerswerda. Very often the "mobilization" is not even carried out formally through the Labour Exchanges in the manner described. When a big factory in Bitterfeld had to be dismantled, labour power was not immediately available. Perhaps the mobilization had been overlooked. In any case, a Russian captain marched into the office of the Director of the Chief Labour Exchange in Magdeburg, drew his pistol, laid it on the table and then declared in a threatening manner that he had forty army lorries drawn up outside, and that he was not going until all forty were loaded with workers. The Director of the Labour Exchange was at his wits end, but he did his best in the short time at his disposal, and, with the assistance of Russian soldiery, men were picked up on the streets, taken out of trams, and so on, and bundled into the lorries.

The same officer demanded the provision of 12,000 men for the dismantling of Giessches Erben Works. These men worked in three shifts day and night for two months. The Russians are fond of speed records. It puts them in favour with their superiors. What happens to the workers involved and what technical damage is done are unimportant provided that the job is completed in record time.

When floods occurred towards the end of the winter along the River Oder, labour forces were "mobilized" in the same arbitrary way reminiscent of the old African slave-raids. Many people who lived in the Western Sectors of Berlin, and who had been caught in the Eastern Sector without permission, were packed off just as they were to take part in this particular campaign. Most of the Oder Conservancy work is now carried out by forced labour. Men ordered from the Schoenwalde district for work on the Oder bridges were promised top tariff, good lodgings and Red Army rations. When they arrived they were paid the lowest possible unskilled-labour rates, and that only once a month. The food was extremely poor, and consisted of watery soup and about a pound of bread daily. Their lodgings were in a damaged artillery barracks, and they slept on the bare floors without even blankets.

About 3,000 men were mobilized in Guestrow (Mecklenburg) and

the neighbourhood for forced labour on the building of harbour works at Wismar, on the Baltic, to serve a Russian shipping line. Even the members of the orchestra of the Guestrow Theatre had to turn out with picks and shovels for this work.

Russian steamers call twice a week at Wismar to be loaded with freight for the Soviet Union. Forced labour is used for this purpose, and the Labour Exchange in Wismar issues the necessary orders for workers to present themselves as dockers for the Soviet company Derutra "until further notice".

The Labour Exchange in Leipzig took 16,000 male employees from their work in the town and filled their places as far as possible with women. The men were to be sent to Polenz for debris clearance.

The Labour Exchange in Stralsund mobilizes younger workers for building operations in Peenemunde. Girls are taken in particular for turf-digging.

Many women have been mobilized in the Loewenberg (Mark) and Fuerstenberg (Mecklenburg) districts to clean shells in the Ruthik munitions works near Merzburg (Mark).

In West Thuringia many hundreds of workers have been mobilized for work in Stralsund. As many of them fled, the gaps were filled by cordoning off whole streets and arresting all suitable men in accordance with the traditions of the press-gang.

Twenty-five thousand workers employed by "non-vital" undertakings in Thuringia were "mobilized" for the collection of wood for fuel in the forests of Thuringia. Six hundred railway carriages daily were required to convey them there, but only about 150 were available, so these were crowded to the limit. Failure to carry out the precious "plan" would result in a charge of "sabotage".

In districts where there are strong forces of occupation troops men are frequently seized on the streets without the least warning and bundled off to carry out various tasks on behalf of the occupation authorities—unloading waggons, for instance. Whoever is unlucky enough to be in the neighbourhood when the press-gangs go out is seized and carried off. The same arbitrary fate is suffered by motor-drivers and car-owners. Their cars are stopped on the streets and roads and requisitioned on the spot. A car-owner who gets his car back more or less undamaged after such a mishap is a lucky man.

What the Russians do when there is insufficient labour available for their work is described by a clerical employee who was listed as "liable to direction" and sent to the Jueterbog Camp to work for the Russians:

> "In May 1947 we were engaged in digging up telephone cables near Berlin. As there were not enough of us to do the job as

quickly as the Russians wanted it done they went out to find reinforcements. On Saturday night at ten o'clock they surrounded the local public-houses and restaurants, lined up all the able-bodied men present, took away their papers and instructed them to apply at the Town Hall at 7 a.m. the next day to collect them. When they arrived as instructed they were all herded off to work with us; and this they had to do, irrespective of their other obligations, for three weeks until the job was finished.

In Marienborn men entering the Russian Zone from the British Zone were brought before a Russian woman doctor, examined by her, and if found able-bodied, sent off to an unknown destination for forced labour. Within forty-eight hours 200 men were examined in this fashion, and only two of them were allowed to continue their journey; the rest were taken away.

The same thing happened to men from the American Sector near Burg. They were taken out of the Berlin-Magdeburg train and sent to a labour camp, where they had to do four weeks forced labour before they were released.

In Werder on the Havel "enemy aliens" from the Western Sectors are often picked up at the station and sent off to unload coal or do similar dirty and heavy work. After a day or so they are released. This was the fate of three florists and a journalist from the Western Sector of Berlin.

Such measures are not necessarily the work of subordinate Russian authorities, and the following order of Marshal Sokolovski in connection with "measures to increase the production and distribution of coal" No. 323 of November 20th, 1946, indicates the background of all these press-gang raids:

> "I order that Presidents of Provinces and Districts should take decisive measures against absenteeism and against infractions of labour discipline. The following punishments are to be imposed: public rebuke; withdrawal of the supplementary rations; the shortening of holidays to the extent of the absenteeism in question; and, if necessary, the prosecution of the offender in the courts. Thus any employee who remains away from his work without good reason, or who seriously infringes labour discipline, can be punished not only with disciplinary measures but also with court proceedings. I draw the attention of all concerned to the fact that Order No. 100 concerning the suppression of sabotage and diversionary acts can be applied to such cases if necessary."
>
> Incidentally, sentences passed under this Order can include up to fifteen years imprisonment, and even death.

Everything is being modelled along Soviet lines. In the Soviet Union freedom of movement for working people has been abolished since 1940, and infractions of labour discipline are punishable offences. Clearly such a system involves a complete contempt for the working man as a human being, and an incident which occurred during a raid on "work-shy elements" in Nordhausen in Thuringia in June 1946 speaks volumes for the mental attitude of the authorities. In order that the police should know which persons had already been examined inside their cordon, they pressed a rubber stamp bearing the words "Police—Nordhausen" on to the forearms of all persons as they were examined, as though they were so many cattle.

The incidents quoted are not exceptional or isolated; the same sort of thing is typical of the whole Eastern Zone. In order to entice workers from one district to another the Russians are not sparing in promises. High wages are offered, together with first-class food, lodgings in private houses, holidays, travelling money, and so on. It all sounds very attractive, but when the workers arrive they find very different conditions from those they have been promised.

Twenty thousand workers were mobilized for the dismantling of a big works near Borna. Many of the men were fugitives and exiles who had recently returned to their homes. Most of them were exhausted and emaciated, and many were unfit. The assembly centres were infested with vermin. The men were herded into mass quarters which were so overcrowded that sleep was very difficult. There were no mattresses, no beds—not even straw sacks—and no blankets. There were also no proper arrangements for washing and the food was very poor. Although the work was heavy the men were not even given the low rates of pay prevailing in Saxony. Twice a day they received about a pint of poor-quality soup with half-cooked carrots floating in it, and about a pound of inferior bread. Once a week they were given a little fat, honey and inferior sausage. The arrangements for medical attention were primitive in the extreme and quite inadequate. Any expression of discontent was punished with the withdrawal of rations and imprisonment. Maltreatment by Russian officers was common. In order to encourage these poor wretches to work hard and engage in "socialist competition", propagandists from the "Unity" Party were let loose on them. The value of such propaganda can be imagined.

The conditions for the thousands of men engaged on the dismantling of the brown-coal works at Regis near Borna were similar. It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that of the 10,000 workers originally engaged on this job, only between 3,000 and 4,000 were left after the first few months. The accident rate is always high, and there were no fewer than fifty-two fatalities on this job. Minor acci-

dents were so frequent that no notice was taken of them and no register kept. The Russian major in charge of operations ordered the dismantling of the pumps, although this would have meant flooding three other mines and although it was against the instructions of the S.M.A.D. in Karlshorst. When this was pointed out to him he flew into a rage and insisted that his orders should be carried out.

An appeal was made to the Minister for Economics in the Saxon Government, Selbmann, to intervene to prevent such utterly senseless destruction, but Selbmann was not prepared to offend a Russian major, and he refused to take any action. In the end Major-General Dubrovski, the Commandant of Dresden, was approached, and he forbade the dismantling of the pumps. No action was taken against the incompetent and irresponsible major, and he was left in charge of the job. It must not be thought that his attitude was anything out of the ordinary. A tremendous amount of unnecessary damage is being done in the Eastern Zone by such people. Another major asked a German engineer to estimate how many men and how much time would be necessary to dismantle a certain installation. When he was told that it would take 200 workers four days he replied: "I will give you two thousand workers, and then it must be done in two days." The engineer pointed out that if the installation was torn down quickly it would be too much damaged for subsequent use. Further, so many workers were unnecessary for the job; they would only get in each other's way. The irate major then threatened to have him arrested for refusing to obey an order. Once again an appeal had to be made to the Commanding General. If the orders of the major had been carried out and the installation ruined there would have been a charge of sabotage. The "German Fascists" would deliberately have ruined the installation in order to prevent the Russians using it. Things are very difficult for expert engineers and others in the Russian Zone.

In the Uranium Mines

Forced labour is being employed on a large scale in the Erzgebirge district. In the summer of 1946 the chief doctor—of all people!—of the spa Oberschlema was taken by aeroplane to Moscow, where he was examined in great detail concerning the ore deposits, the size, nature and methods of mining and the ways in which the ores were used. The unfortunate man was away from home for several months on this strange mission.

During the winter of 1946–47 the Russians hastily began large-scale operations in the whole district around Oberschlema, Schneeberg, Aue, Zschorlau, Marienburg, Brambach, Kunersdorf, Eibenstock, Schmiedeberg, Annaberg, Bucholz, Frohnau and Johann-

georgenstadt, not far from the Czech frontier, in an anxious search for pitchblende. Pitchblende is an ore containing uranium, the raw material for atomic bombs, and the Kremlin urgently needs atomic bombs to pursue its policy of democratic peace successfully.

In April 1947 I was in Zwickau, and I heard what was going on about fifteen miles away. I got into a car and drove to Schneeberg. I found the whole neighbourhood sealed off against the rest of the world. Only by dint of showing my Russian authorization and using a great deal of energy did I manage to get past the sentries.

The radio-active springs of the famous spa of Oberschlema have been destroyed by the carting away of many tons of earth. All the hotels and pensions have been requisitioned by the Russians. The elegant spa is no longer recognizable. Pit-head workings and cable trolleys give the neighbourhood a Black-Country appearance. Many of the inhabitants have fled because their houses are being undermined by the Russian workings, and they fear that they will collapse over their heads.

What I saw there was sufficient to show me why the Russians are so anxious that the rest of the world should know nothing about their forced-labour slave-system. Many thousands of slave workers—reports say tens of thousands—are at work there in both underground and surface workings. The equipment is primitive, but that is made up for as far as possible by using masses of human labour power. The ore brought to the surface in this way goes in truckloads to the Soviet Union. Some of it is even sent by aeroplane.

In July 1947 the Central Soviet Military Authority in Karlshorst instructed the Administration for Labour and Social Welfare to provide a further 20,000 young miners for work in the uranium operations. There was a subsequent rumour that the work had been stopped as unproductive, but in fact shortly afterwards a demand for another 20,000 miners was submitted. The tens of thousands already recruited were "being held together for other purposes", it was said. Specialists in particular were in great demand. In October 1947 the authorities in Thuringia, Saxony and Saxe-Anhalt began to register all the male adult inhabitants of the 1903–1939 classes with a view to their mobilization for the uranium workings.

The demand for labour power of this sort is also increased by the wide-scale prospecting operations which the Russians are conducting in the neighbourhood of Freiberg, in Polish-occupied Silesia and in the neighbourhood of the Czech frontier. Many thousands of male Germans have already been ordered there for forced labour.

"Direction" takes place in the same way as it did during the war under Hitler. Labour Exchanges send out notices to men regarded as suitable without consideration for their circumstances, domestic

arrangements or even their state of health. The following is a typical "calling-up" order:

"Labour Service Order

"Labour Exchange,
Dresden, N.6.
Raehnitzgasse, 9.

"Heinrich Mueller,
born 13.VII.1911 in Weissboehla.
Trade Group 20
Labour Book No. .....
Previously employed by .....
At present unemployed.

"Take notice that you are hereby enrolled as a labourer at Aue (Erzgebirge) from July 19th next until further notice.

"You will report for duty on July 18th, 1947, at 6 a.m. sharp, at the Main Railway Station, Dresden, Main Hall, bringing with you all your documents (Labour Book, Tax and Insurance Cards, etc.). The instructions on the back are to be complied with. Your work there will cease only by decision of the local Labour Exchange."

"Dresden, July 6th, 1947.

"(Stamp)

"P.S. Bring victuals for five days."

The victim of this new system of forced labour has only two days in which to order his affairs. Men—and women—from all stratas of the population are dragged out of their normal lives and circumstances in this fashion, irrespective of whether they are suited to the work or not. Commercial employees, clerks, hairdressers, students, former Civil Servants and lawyers—all go into the capacious net of the labour authorities, providing they are between the ages of eighteen and forty-five and can stand on their feet. Women are freed from the forced-labour call-up only when they have children under the age of six to look after. Housewives are exempt only if there are two or more working members in their families or if they have children under the age of fifteen.

The process begins with the S.M.A., which demands a certain number of workers. The required number must be mobilized and delivered at the requisite time and place under all circumstances. Small towns are often called upon to provide up to 6,000 workers at short notice. If the local authorities responsible find themselves unable to get the requisite number together in the specified time they can be certain of dismissal—or worse. For instance, the Directors of

the Labour Exchanges in Auerbach, Oelsnitz and Plauen were all dismissed and arrested by the Russians because they had failed to deliver the number of slaves demanded. Clearly, in such circumstances the Labour Exchange authorities move heaven and earth to get the required number, irrespective of whether they are ill or well, suitable or not. Provided the required number is delivered, they are saved.

The Labour Exchange in Dresden had sent no fewer than 8,000 slaves to Aue by June 1947. The Labour Exchange in Leipzig had sent considerably more. The little town of Langensalza in Thuringia alone had sent 800. Very often, of course, the prospective slaves, knowing what they have to expect, make good their escape as soon as they receive their "call-up notice", though obviously married men with families and a settled existence are in a difficult position in this respect. Sometimes the desertions are on a mass scale. For instance, of 3,000 male slaves who were to have come from Mecklenburg, only 400 could be found when the time came. The rest had fled.

It is not only unemployed workers who are "directed" in this fashion; sometimes the method of mobilization is to order factories to send a certain percentage of their workers; for instance, in June 1947 all textile factories in the Chemnitz district were ordered to surrender 4 per cent of their workers. Some of the bigger Saxon industrial undertakings have been called on to surrender as many as 10 per cent of their labour force.

This system naturally sows panic amongst the population. Many men, and even whole families, live with their bundles packed ready for instant flight as soon as the slave-driver's whip cracks. There have even been cases of self-inflicted wounds—just as during the war—in order to evade the call-up. Young single men take to their heels on a mass scale when they are called up, so the authorities have now begun to concentrate chiefly on fathers of families, on the very correct assumption that such men will find it much more difficult to escape. If they do make their escape, then the authorities take their wives instead, telling them that they will be released immediately their husbands return to their take places. This, too, is often an accurate speculation. This is another Soviet achievement on the way to "People's Democracy" which has now been introduced into the Eastern Zone: the principle of vicarious responsibility. The wife is made hostage for her husband. If fugitives from the slave law are caught, they are not sent to the work originally allotted to them, but are deported to Russia.

One day in the winter of 1946–47 police commandos appeared in the little town of Marienberg, which has a population of about 8,000, and "requisitioned" a whole series of buildings, including dwelling-

houses, for "a State mining undertaking". Scores of families had to clear out of their homes at a few hours' notice. Then the Russians arrived. Troops were quartered in the local barracks, which up to then had been used to house displaced persons, who were, of course, also ejected. With the troops came Soviet geologists, engineers, architects, etc., many of them with their families. They then proceeded to occupy the homes of the ejected German families. At the same time the police force was greatly strengthened. After that "directed workers" began to arrive in their thousands from Saxony and farther afield to work in the local ore-fields and to prospect, under the direction of the Russian geologists, for uranium ore. Most of them had no proper working clothes and no tools. As the mines had been disused for a long time, there were no safety precautions and no proper equipment, and in particular there were no measures against dust. In consequence the work proved extremely dangerous, and the rate of sickness was exceptionally high, especially from lung troubles, which often proved fatal.

The earth excavated in the workings was carried to the pit-head in buckets by means of improvised pulleys. There were no proper arrangements for ventilation, lighting or pumping. The old pit-props were mostly rotten. The slave workers, many of whom were not miners and had had no experience of such work, had to descend into the pits by ladders and to work often up to their waists in water. The working day was eight hours without a break. Formerly the tubs had been dragged to the shaft by pit ponies, but to-day, in this enlightened technical age, they are drawn by human beings.

Three shifts are worked below ground and two above. Whether it is excessively hot or raining in torrents makes no difference, and the authorities are not in the least concerned as to where the men get dry things for the next day—in fact they do not; their clothes have to dry on them. This goes on seven days a week. Sunday is not a day of rest. There is a rest day only once a month. When the men come from the pits, caked in mud, dust and slime, with ancient tin hats on their heads, their emaciated faces covered with dirt and dust, they stagger to their resting-places almost too tired to eat the miserable soup prepared for them. No army of Pharaoh's slaves can ever have looked more exhausted and miserable.

Labour Beasts

The Annaberg is now the property of the "Staatliche Aktiengesellschaft", a branch of the non-ferrous-metal trust "Wismut" in Aue, whose task it is to prospect for uranium ores. Only one out of five workings is at present in operation at the "Zeppelin" pit. The other four are to be put into operation as soon as possible. The "Himm-

lisches Heer" pit is still derelict, but that, too, is to come into working. Five workings of the "Uranus" pit are now operating, though one of them is partly submerged.

In the beginning the workers were provided with rubber boots, but the supply has long since ceased and they must now wade through the water, sometimes up to their waists, in their own boots. The excavated earth from one of the workings is laboriously wound up a steep slope to the surface by six women with primitive winding machinery. From the other workings it has to be carried to the surface in sacks manually. None of these pits has proper winding apparatus.

An electrical worker from Dresden who was directed to work in the uranium-prospecting operations in Aue succeeded in making his escape into the British Zone. He describes his experience as follows:

"A direction notice came to me through my own works council at the factory at which I worked in Dresden. I went to the Labour Exchange, and there they took away my papers, including my local registration paper, my tax card and my insurance card. My food cards were taken, and everything cut out except food for the next fortnight. Then I was told I was to leave for Aue with a transport of other workers on a certain day.

"I went off with this transport, and when we arrived in Aue we were put in a compound which was surrounded by barbed wire. At each corner there was a watch-tower occupied by sentries, just as in a concentration camp. The Camp Commandant, his staff and the guards were all Germans. The armed sentries and patrols, about 200 men in all, were Russians. There were about 900 men in the camp and about 400 women, all of whom had been directed for labour here in the same way as I had.

"The pit workings were a short distance away from the camp. As I was an electrician, I was put to laying electric cables. The ore earth was loosened with pneumatic drills and then shovelled into baskets which were carried out by hand up a steep incline, where they were emptied into waiting trucks. Women were also engaged on this work. The supervisors were both Germans and Russians.

"All the time I was working in Aue I was paid no wages because the pay-day kept being postponed. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays we were allowed to leave the compound, and we had to be back by midnight. If anyone offended against this rule he had to work a double shift as punishment and then spend twenty-four hours without food in cells which were erected for the purpose.

"The workers were not told what quota they had to fulfil during the day. All they heard about it was at the end of the day, when

they were told whether they had achieved it or not. The workers had no chance of checking whether the reckoning of the supervisors was correct or not, particularly as the quota was not fixed individually, but for whole groups, so-called brigades. There were no check-men to represent the workers. If the supervisors declared that the morning quota had not been fulfilled, then the workers got no mid-day meal. In the period from May to July there was meat at this meal on only three occasions. It usually consisted of sauerkraut. The men's breakfast consisted of about a pound of bread, twenty grammes of fat or jam or sausage with coffee or a ladle of soup. In the evenings there was a can of soup, usually peas or lentils.

"The workers were grouped into brigades, usually consisting of about fifteen men under the leadership of a so-called brigadier. This man did not take part in the work, but he was responsible for seeing that his 'brigade' fulfilled its quota—in other words, he was the slave-driver. The working day was eight hours, and there were no rest pauses, but often, on the instructions of the Russians, the working-day was increased, sometimes to a double shift. There was no pay for overtime, and no extra pay for Sunday work.

"If a man fell sick he had to report to the pit inspector, and only if this man agreed was he allowed to see the doctor. There was no pit committee, or any arrangement for representing the interests of the workers. All in all, in fact, we were not free workers, but prisoners—labour slaves. Naturally, most of the men were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to make their escape, which was not easy."

Work till you Drop

Owing to the fact that none of the pits is properly equipped, the rate of accidents is very high, particularly from falls of stone. On April 25th, 1947, part of three "Kniebreche" workings collapsed and buried twenty men. A similar accident took place in the "Abraham" pit a few days later, and two days after that another occurred in the "Lautaer" pit. This sort of thing is constantly happening, and no effective measures are taken to protect the workers. Most of the accidents are concealed from the outside world because the Russians have established a strict censorship of all news. However, really serious accidents are impossible to conceal, and so it became known that eighty workers lost their lives on October 22nd, 1947, as the result of a pit disaster. Sixteen others died in hospital. From the reports of the engineers it appears that the existing pit-props were rotten, and collapsed under the weight of the roof. This sort of thing is inevitable, because there is no proper supply of timber for replacements.

A worker from Johanngeorgenstadt who met with an accident in the pits writes:

"After my accident they suggested that I should go home, as I was no longer fit for work or likely to be in the near future. However, they refused to pay my fare. The pit management sent me to the insurance department; they sent me to the welfare group. The Free German Trade Union representative shrugged his shoulders: 'You're not working and you won't be working again, therefore it's nothing to do with us.' None of the various German authorities could give me any answer when I asked how my wife and family were to live without money, and I was sent to the Russians. There I was told that it was nothing to do with them, and they sent me back to the Germans."

It is clear that in such circumstances there is an enormous wastage of human material, so much so that the slave organizations are finding it increasingly difficult to get enough men. They have therefore begun to recruit women and girls. These new conscripts were told that they were to work in the "Vitriolwerke A.G." in Marienberg. Amongst them were even pregnant women and women with young children, but no objections were listened to. In order to force the women to go, their food-cards were taken away from them at the Labour Exchange. When they arrived in Marienberg they found that they had to do heavy work in the pits. They were given manual labourer's food supplement, for what it is worth, and occasionally cigarettes were distributed as a labour premium. The food is too poor to rebuild the strength the heavy work takes out of them.

Young workers sent to the Erzgebirge district for work in the pits are kept together in groups of fifty. Six live together in one room, which is furnished only with wooden beds. Each young worker has a sack filled with shavings and one blanket. For this accommodation eighteen marks a month is deducted from his pay. Those who work underground get manual labourer's rations, the others get Scale II. Once a month they get about a kilogram of flour, three-quarters of a kilogram of lentils or macaroni, and about a pound of butter and a pound of meat. In addition, those who work underground get about a quarter of a pound of cheese and a small quantity of skimmed milk. The mid-day meal is very poor, and as there is very rarely, if ever, any green vegetables, many of the workers are suffering from scurvy. The bread is doughy and sour, and causes stomach troubles.

One of these young workers writes:

"To get down into the pit we have to clamber down ladders, 722 rungs in all. There are no cages. We then have to work for

eight hours in a terrible atmosphere, and we have to work very hard in order to fulfil our quota; if we don't we get no meal and no money. When we get to the top again after having made the long and difficult climb, we are physically exhausted. We are supposed to be paid seven marks fifty a shift, but very often we have to wait five or six weeks before we get any pay at all. There are no proper washing arrangements, and we have to do the best we can to get ourselves clean. We are like prisoners in a concentration camp. The workings are surrounded with barbed wire, and there are guards armed with tommy-guns. If anyone stays away from work the works police arrive to fetch him and after that he may get one or two weeks inside. When we leave the pit we are wet through to the skin with sweat, and in that state we go out into the winter cold. Most of us hope to get pneumonia; something of the sort is the only way to get out of this slavery."

The neighbourhood is flooded with directed workers from all parts, many of them displaced persons, and there is not enough room for all of them. The overcrowding is terrible, and many of them have to be quartered outside. Since the first morning shift begins at six a.m., the latter have to get up at a very early hour in order to be on time.

As the local population is far above normal even every-day necessities are short and the food officials find it difficult to obtain sufficient foodstuffs. Bread and fats of all kinds are in short supply, and so is fuel. In winter the men's quarters are inadequately heated, and very often there is not enough fuel for cooking purposes.

Twice a week the men have to line up for food-cards, and stand sometimes for two or three hours in their free time. There are long queues at all the shops. Wages are paid three times a month, and once again there are long queues. If a worker wants to lodge any sort of request at least five signatures are necessary, and this involves endless running around and waiting. This is a typical programme for days on which food-cards are distributed: Work shift from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. Mid-day meal, including waiting in long lines, from 2 to 3 p.m. Line up for food-cards from 3 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. Shopping from 5.30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Those who are lodged outside then have to make the journey back to their quarters, and this means anything from an hour to an hour and a half on the train. Many of them do not get to bed until midnight, and then they have to be up at four in the morning to be in time for the first shift at 6 a.m.

Evacuation for the Local Inhabitants

In order to make room for the thousands and thousands of labour slaves who are being constantly poured into the neighbourhood of

the pits, the S.M.A. is planning to evacuate the local population. A confidential circular of the "Unity" Party dated August 17th, 1947, speaks of a plan to evacuate all the inhabitants of Marienberg, Annaberg, Aue, Schwarzenberg and neighbouring districts in order to make room for new masses of slaves. According to a letter of the Town Council in Marienberg dated September 2nd, 1937, work has already begun to move the local inhabitants and quarter displaced Germans from Hungary in their homes.

A long circular of instructions from the Central Labour Exchange in Dresden dated July 21st, 1947, is a highly illuminating document. It complains that work is often felt by the masses not as a fulfilment and an aim in life, but as a burden. It goes on:

> "Youthful elements in particular have been quite spoiled by the developments of the past twelve years. But now there must be a change. . . . As the economic system lacks labour power, we are compelled, against our will, to deal harshly with many workers and to direct them for work away from their homes—to Leipzig, Leuna, Boehlau and other places. New regulations require that those returning from prison camps to their homes shall not be employed in their own domicile. . . . Our tasks are hard, and sometimes we have to carry out instructions which we find disagreeable, but, as politically trained men and women, we recognize the necessity of such measures."

In the meantime the local inhabitants have to take outsiders into their homes. An appeal to the population reads:

> "At a meeting of the Town Council on September 16th, 1947, it was pointed out that all inhabitants must now be content with less living space than they have been accustomed to. The displaced brothers from Hungary must find a new home here and be received with open arms. It is trusted that the local population will show an understanding for this measure."

But whether they show an understanding or not, they have to comply. The following is a typical form of allocation for compulsory billeting:

"Marienburg, September 17th, 1947.

Compulsory Billeting

Mr. .....
Formerly of Hungary
is hereby allotted housing space at (address) ..... in the premises of ..... No further authorisation for his entry is necessary.

The Town Council
Housing Committee
(Sig.)"

(Stamp)

In many places, such as Hilmersdorf and Lengefeld, this compulsory billeting has led to disturbances and police intervention.

The unfortunate inhabitants are not the only sufferers. Those who are billeted on them are just as unhappy about it all. A circular of the Central Labour Exchange recognizes this frankly, and admits: "Every directed worker who hears the word 'Aue' finds his heart dropping into his boots." The trouble is that food, lodgings, working and living conditions are so bad that the news spreads like wildfire.

A circular of the District Committee of the "Unity" Party in Marienburg points out that the representatives of the S.M.A. have declared that they expect at least from all officials of the party that they should show a proper understanding "for what is at stake", and that they should realize that no consideration can be shown to individuals. The workers must be told: "Work in the pits, and then you can stay in your homes and be well fed."

Still more revealing is a circular from the Central Committee of the "Unity" Party in Saxony to its subordinate organs:

> "The Central Labour Exchange has been instructed to provide a large batch of workers for important work. Without our assistance the responsible officials of the Labour Exchange will find it impossible to carry out their instructions. We therefore ask you to support them to the fullest extent, and to make any proposals which may occur to you for assisting them in their work, and, above all, to do your best to see to it that their instructions are carried out with as little disturbance and argument as possible."

From all these indications it is clear that the statement of the President of the Saxon Diet, Otto Buchwitz, a leading member of the "Unity" Party, that the workers directed into the uranium mines are the best paid in Europe, and that the conditions under which they are compelled to live "are far from being inhuman", is a falsehood. If his statement even approached the truth there would not be the mass flight of workers from the Erzgebirge district which so much worries the authorities at the moment. The workers themselves give the answer to such lies by taking to their heels as soon as they get the chance.

At all the workings there is a ruthless system of slave-driving. The workers are guarded by armed Russian patrols, and shouts of "*Davai! davai!*" (Hurry up! Get a move on! Quicker! Quicker!") can be heard all day long. These Russian soldiers often treat the workers as though they were literally members of a chain gang, and kicks and blows are frequent. Sometimes Russian punishment companies are put into the pits to work. As these men are much better

fed and clothed than the German workers, their labour is naturally more productive. Their performance is frequently the norm for the German workers, and those who did not reach it are punished, usually by cutting down their already inadequate rations.

After their shift workers are supposed to receive a warm meal, but very often it is not available. In consequence there is a black market in food coupons. In such circumstances sickness is widespread amongst the workers, but unless a man has high fever or some obvious injury he is "fit for work" by Russian standards. German doctors who give workers sick leave "without good cause", as the Russians put it, are liable to arrest and trial for "sabotage". If a worker misses a shift "without good cause"—and in Russian eyes the "cause" has to be a very good one indeed—he is punished by being deprived of food coupons for three days. If he misses two shifts he loses a week's food coupons. If he misses three shifts he is arrested and brought before the court. This is how the principle of "he who does not work neither shall he eat" works out in Russian practice. Six weeks imprisonment is the first sentence. More serious absenteeism can be punished by six months imprisonment. And six months imprisonment under the conditions existing in Eastern Zone prisons is no light matter.

Quite generally prison conditions in the Eastern Zone are very bad, but in the prison of Schneeberg they are inhuman. The prison itself is well built, and situated in a beautiful, park-like neighbourhood. It is a modern building, and originally—that is, before the Russians arrived—it was clean and efficient. The cells are large community rooms with facilities for up to twenty-three prisoners. Under the Soviet regime they sometimes hold eighty or more. The inmates are mostly young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty, who have no relatives dependent on them who could be arrested by the Russians if they fled. They are the unlucky ones: they were caught before they could get away.

Their condition is frightful. All of them are emaciated, with skin like parchment and complexions like lead; their eyes sunken and red. Many of them have open wounds, often not even bandaged. Their hair has grown long and they are unshaven. All of them are dirty, and their shirts and underwear, if any, have not been washed for months. They are all lousy, and many of them suffer from skin complaints of a revolting character. The prison regime is unable to cope with the masses of prisoners the new democratic regime pitchforks into it, with the result that the existing arrangements for washing, baths, laundering, etc., have broken down completely.

This inability of the prison to cope with so many prisoners was, of course, well known to the local Russian Commandant, but it did not

concern him in the least. He insisted on draconic punishments for all "work-shys", as he called them, and in consequence the prison grows more and more overcrowded and more and more dirty and inefficient. There is no way by which any prisoner can lodge a complaint against the conditions under which he is held, and that is merely a reflection of the situation that exists outside.

At the workings all the old labour-protection regulations and traditions have been swept away. The workers are not allowed to elect working committees or shop stewards to represent their interests. Whenever complaints are made to the German foremen, engineers or doctors the answer is always the same, and it is largely true: "It's not our fault: we can do nothing about it; it's the Russians." On one occasion a group of more courageous workers demanded the election of a works committee to represent the rank and file, but they were told by the district secretary of the "Unity" trade union organization, a certain Willi Breitmeyer, that the S.M.A. had suspended their own regulations for the election of factory councils and workers' representatives throughout the uranium-mining areas. In reply to the complaints of the workers, he agreed to see what he could do to persuade the Russians to abide at least by the law prohibiting the employment of women underground. However, the Central Committee of the Miners Union of the Free German Trade Union Federation agreed to the employment of women underground, and advised the dissatisfied men to keep quiet and not "make trouble", in order not to disturb "the fraternal relations existing between the unions and the occupation authorities". Incidentally, declared the union, the directed women in question were all members of "reactionary strata", and therefore the union was not prepared to take any action on their behalf. "Incidentally", this statement was totally untrue.

At the orders of the Russian Kommandantur a special passport is issued to all persons living in "the prohibited district of Marienberg", and persons not in possession of such a passport are expelled. Anyone who enters the district without permission from the Russian authorities is liable to a fine or imprisonment. Similarly, no one may leave the district without special permission. At the same time a strict censorship of letters in and out of the area has been established. This censorship was introduced without any announcement, but before long, when men found themselves called up for examination concerning incautious observations they had made in letters to their families and friends in other parts of the Eastern Zone, the existence of the censorship became known. The men engaged in the workings are constantly subjected to personal searches. Anyone found in possession of samples of excavated earth and stone is liable to face a charge of "espionage" and a long term of imprisonment.

The conditions which exist in the Erzgebirge ore areas are every bit as bad, if not worse than, the conditions which prevailed in the early days of capitalism, the conditions which were denounced so indignantly by Karl Marx and other Socialist and humanitarian pioneers. Then they were caused by a reckless drive for profits which turned human beings into beasts of burden; to-day the conditions have been brought about by the representatives of "the first Socialist State in the world", "the Fatherland of the Proletariat", and so on. The Soviet Government protested indignantly against the inhuman treatment accorded to those foreign workers who were carried away by force during the war to work for Hitler Germany, and it was most clamorous, and still is, that crimes of this nature committed against humanity during the war should be punished. It is high time that something was said about the very self-same crimes now being committed by the Soviet Government and its "anti-Fascist" satellites long after the end of the war. They, too, call for just punishment.

Lying Propaganda

The propaganda which is conducted all over the Eastern Zone to entice workers into the uranium districts is in crass contradiction to the conditions which actually prevail there. A recruiting poster outside the Labour Exchanges promises high wages for underground workers: 2,800 marks a month for a skilled worker, together with a daily food ration of two pounds of bread, 80 grams of meat, 30 grams of fats, 100 grams of cheese, etc., and, in addition, special food premiums for exceeding the labour quotas. Whoever volunteers is promised ten marks a day waiting money until his call-up. What sort of conditions the unfortunates find when they arrive in the uranium districts we have already seen. The worker is more enslaved there than in any other part of the Eastern Zone, and that is saying something.

Despite all this rosy propaganda in meetings, by posters, in the Press and on the wireless, volunteers are becoming fewer and fewer as the news gets round. The Russians, with the zealous co-operation of the "Unity" Party, therefore adopt all sorts of tricks. For instance, young workers have been recruited in south and west Thuringia allegedly for work on the docks and harbours of Stralsund and Greifswald, but in reality they have been sent into the uranium districts. After a while many of the recruited youngsters have turned up in their homes again with reports about the real conditions they found awaiting them: confinement in miserable barracks, armed Russian guards, barbed wire, poor food and excessively long hours and hard labour. The Russian authorities, again with the active support of the "Unity" Party, are naturally taking every possible step to dam

the stream of fugitives from the uranium areas. When workers, whether "directed" or volunteers, arrive now they are immediately deprived of their own clothing and put into "working kit", which consists of dirty, ragged overalls, which mark a man quite as effectively as the broad arrow on prison clothing could, and thus render escape much more difficult.

Sometimes, in their indignation at being so deceived, and feeling that justice is on their side, men who have fled from the uranium districts back to their homes appeal to their local authorities. One of these innocents was a certain workman named Franz Mueller. The following is a report on his case drawn up by the Labour and Social Welfare Department of the Saxon Government in Dresden, 125, Koenisgbrueckerstrasse:

> "With reference to the direction of Franz Mueller to Aue by the Dresden Labour Exchange. The saddler Franz Mueller has presented himself at this office declaring that he was directed for labour in Aue by the Dresden Labour Exchange in 1947. He admits leaving Aue without permission together with about twenty other directed men. The undersigned referred the matter to the Vice-Chief of Police, Spitzer, who has taken the affair in hand in order to get to the bottom of the allegations concerning conditions in Aue and to put an end to the rumours. In his opinion it is a matter that must be placed before the Soviet Military Authority. The question of whether Mueller was properly directed to Aue is, in his opinion, a matter for the Labour Exchange alone and not for his department. The undersigned pointed out to Mueller that he must return to Aue at once, unless he wanted to get into serious trouble, and in the meantime the question of whether he was properly directed or not would be examined."

Franz Mueller had better pick up his bundle and get out before worse befalls. Perhaps he has already learned that to appeal from the Russians to their German tools is like appealing from Pontius to Pilate.

The Stream of Fugitives Goes On

Franz Mueller's case is exceptional only in that he imagined that the authorities would see that justice was done. Most of those who flee from the forced-labour areas are well aware that they are not safe if they merely go back to where they came from, and the result is that the stream of fugitives sweeps on towards the British and American Zones. The truth about conditions in these Russian slave-camps is now so well known that many men do not even wait until they find out for themselves. The summons to the Labour Exchange is

quite enough. They hurriedly pack their few things and make a dash to the other zones, where they are safe.

This stream of fugitives is swollen by men and women who flee for other reasons. The registration system is being more and more strictly imposed in the Russian Zone—for instance, quite recently former members of the German Army who held commissioned and non-commissioned rank have had questionnaires sent to them requiring detailed information about their military activities, their training, their special knowledge, and so on. At the foot of these questionnaires is a threat that unless the form is returned properly filled in by the time specified its recipient will make himself liable to a fine or imprisonment. Naturally such measures lead to lively suspicions, and very often the recipients of such forms pack up their belongings and go over the border at once.

Since last May former members of the German Navy with specialized knowledge have found themselves called to the Labour Exchanges and "directed" to unspecified centres for unspecified purposes. In Leipzig ex-officers of the German Navy have been directed to present themselves for medical examination. Those who turned up and found themselves passed fit were thereupon directed to Minsk or Kiev. Former naval engineers have been directed in this way to Stettin, which is now in Polish territory, and to Harkov. At the end of May many former members of the Luftwaffe and the German Armoured Corps were sent to Koenigsbrueck near Dresden—the Salisbury Plain of the Red Army in Germany—or to Swinemuende, which is now occupied by the Poles. Russian military doctors are present at the medical examinations held in connection with these registrations. In Halle former naval experts were summoned to the Police Presidium, where they were examined by Russian officers concerning their technical knowledge and their past careers. At the end of May 1947 the Town Council of Halle and the provincial administration of Saxe-Anhalt were instructed by the S.M.A. to provide them with lists of all ex-officers in their service. In the Saale district all ex-officers were instructed to report to the Kommandantur. There they were told that they must report every four weeks and that they must not change their address without the express permission of the occupation authorities. The police in the Eastern Zone keep a detailed record of all ex-service men. In one town alone the records embrace 7,000 former members of the Luftwaffe, 2,000 former members of the German Navy and 1,000 former members of the Armoured Corps.

The authorities are not satisfied with merely registering these men. For instance, in Ammendorf, near Halle, police visited all former Luftwaffe pilots and informed them that in the event of their

flight their nearest relatives would be held as hostages and food-cards would be withdrawn from all members of their families. When the Nazis made a man's relatives responsible for his actions, none was louder in condemnation of such an offence against humanity than the so-called "anti-Fascists"; when they do the same thing it suddenly becomes a different matter. After the registration of ex-officers in Halle which took place from June 6th to June 20th it was not long before the "call-up" began. It was carried out by Russian officers. Police President Krueger, a member of the "Unity" Party, declared in an official statement that it was all done on a "voluntary" basis, and that contracts for service in the Red Army were freely signed in all cases. However, this assurance was really superfluous, because, of course, everything that takes place in the Bolshevist State and under its rule is always "voluntarily" performed by the victims—with just a little assistance in the way of threats, the seizing of hostages, and so on.

It is happening more and more frequently that men with specialized military or naval training who have been summoned to appear before the authorities never return to their homes, but are spirited off—"voluntarily" of course—without even having a chance of getting in touch with their families. This makes sure that they have no chance of escape. It is therefore not surprising that men who think themselves threatened by such a fate make their escape before the authorities get a chance to lay hands on them, and the flight of men from the east to the west is taking on mass proportions. Tens of thousands of such men are crossing the zonal frontier illegally, and the assembly camps for fugitives in Poeppensdorf, Uelzen, Bebra, etc., are hardly able to cope with the numbers that arrive. The British Foreign Minister, Bevin, announced in the House of Commons that in the first nine months of 1947 89,000 fugitives had crossed into the British Zone. These refer only to the legal and known cases. Bevin estimated the number of illegal crossings at about 100,000. If corresponding figures are assumed for the American Zone, then the total mass of fugitives for a full year would be about half a million.

The flight is not confined to men. Many girls who are threatened with deportation for forced labour to the Erzgebirge district also take flight at the least intimation. As they cross the frontier without permission, they are unable to register when they arrive. As they have no ration cards and no chance of getting work, many of them slide into evil ways through sheer economic necessity. Male fugitives in the same position also tend to swell the statistics of criminality. The forced-labour system which the Russians practise in their own country, and which they have introduced into all the countries under

their control, including the Eastern Zone, intensifies the moral effects of the national catastrophe which Hitler's "war to the bitter end" brought upon the German people.

Deportations

Deportations on a mass scale began in the autumn of 1946. In the night of October 28th the works houses of the Zeiss factory in Jena were surrounded by Russian soldiers. N.K.V.D. officials escorted by armed men then entered all the houses and ordered everyone to pack necessities for a journey, as they were all leaving the next day, for the Soviet Union, where the Zeiss factory was to be reopened. The place of a worker was in his factory, and therefore all Zeiss employees must go with the factory, taking their families with them. The men were grim and silent; the women and children wept as though their hearts would break. But human happiness means nothing to the Soviet authorities, and they were all deported ruthlessly. A number of these Zeiss workers managed to escape, but the Soviet authorities know how to counter that sort of thing: they carried off the men's families as hostages. In the general despair and desperation there were many personal tragedies. One man committed suicide by opening his veins. Another jumped out of a window and was seriously injured. One of the engineers declared that the condition of his heart would not permit him to travel. A Russian military doctor gave him an injection. A few hours later he died in the train. Over 300 scientists, technicians and skilled workers of the Zeiss factory were kidnapped and deported to the Soviet Union.

The next morning the slave column was ready to travel. Under armed guard it was led off to the station, which was surrounded by Russian troops to prevent any attempts to escape. A doctor who was anxious to make a journey tried to get through the cordon. Asked what his profession was, he replied: "Doctor". "Doctor," repeated the Russian officer. "Excellent; we can use doctors on this journey," and the unfortunate man was compelled to join the slaves and go off to the Soviet Union.

At about the same time twenty-six chemists, seven engineers and a number of skilled mechanics were similarly deported from the Leuna Works, together with their families. At five o'clock in the morning armed men entered the men's houses and ordered them to prepare to leave within two hours. Russian officers stood by as the men packed. In one or two cases the man's family happened to be away. He had to pack up and leave without even having a chance of informing them, much less seeing them to say good-bye. At the railway station the doors on one side of the train were all locked. On the platform stood Russian soldiers with carbines at the ready, whilst Russian

officers drove everyone away but the slaves. The next day an official notice was posted up by the Russians in the Leuna Works informing the staff of what had happened in the night: "Often enough we have tried to recruit specialists voluntarily for work in the Soviet Union. Now we have lost our patience. You Germans are yourselves responsible by forcing us to adopt such measures."

All the technical experts employed in the catalysator factory, including twenty-seven diplomaed engineers, were also kidnapped and deported.

The same ruthless brutality was exercised in the Junkers Works in Dessau, the Oberspree Cable Works in Niederschoenweida, the glass works Schott in Jena, the optical works in Saalfeld and Poessneck, the technical workshops in Gera, and the Totoal Works in Apolda, to mention only a few. Ordinary skilled workers and highly trained engineers and scientists suffer the same fate: Rudolf Mueller, a scientific specialist for jet propulsion; Professor Habann, an expert on high frequencies; a number of mechanics from the Askania Works in Friedrichshagen, skilled workers of the Telefunken Works in Berlin, and so on. They were all hauled out of bed in the early hours of the morning and ordered to pack their things at once to leave for the Soviet Union next day. Together with their families they were all herded to the railway stations under armed guard and sent off to the Soviet paradise. When the Oberspree Cable Works was transferred to Russia the Russians were in such a hurry that the directors Steimel and Spiegel and the chief engineer were all sent off at once by plane.

It is interesting to note that the deportations began immediately after the municipal elections in Berlin which resulted in such a resounding defeat for the Russian-sponsored "Unity" Party. Obviously, "if not with fair means, then with foul."

In the case of the Junkers Works the Russians tried to give their ruthless brutality a legal cloak by quoting the contract of the skilled men and responsible technicians, which provided that in the event of the works moving the men would agree to go with them. Obviously it is a grotesque sham to pretend, as the Russians do, that this clause can conceivably cover such an eventuality as the forced removal of the works to a foreign country. The new contracts which the Russians have drawn up contain the same clause. This threadbare piece of subterfuge makes no difference whatever to the fact that the men have been kidnapped and deported by force or intimidation.

A number of scholars of the University of Rostock have also been deported. In September 1946 the S.M.A. ordered the issue of Food-cards Class One, together with supplementary food-stuffs, to a number of scientists at the University. At the same time commissars

were appointed to keep the work of these men under constant supervision. All the various tasks on which they were engaged had to be completed by fixed dates. In addition, they were called to the headquarters of the S.M.A. to discuss their work and their future tasks. The scientists of the animal-breeding institute in Rostock were all visited by representatives of the occupying Power, who showed interest in every possible detail not only of their work, but also of their personal affairs. That ought to have been enough to warn them, and the next stage was the kidnappings and deportations. Physicists and chemists in particular were taken; always at four o'clock in the morning.

A Russian officer appeared one day in the rooms of Professor Luebke allegedly in order to escort him to Berlin for a scientific conference. Professor Luebke refused to go on the grounds that he had important lectures to give in Rostock. The next day his wife rang him up from Berlin and told him that a number of his colleagues had been invited to a scientific conference, from which they had not returned. The wives had been told that their husbands had gone to Russia and that they should make arrangements to follow them. Professor Luebke was incautious enough to arrange with his wife on the phone that he would join her in Berlin the next day. In the early hours of the morning his house was surrounded by armed soldiers, and Russian officers came in and ordered him to prepare his things at once, as he was going to Russia. His family was already prepared in Berlin to follow him. Luebke was permitted to proceed to the Institute under escort, where he informed the Rector that he was being forced to leave for Russia. In the afternoon his wife rang up again to know why he had not arrived; she had no idea that he had already been seized.

An engineer named Wolf, of Reutershagen, near Rostock, who had suspected the fate in store for him, succeeded in making his escape to the west. His wife and family were seized and sent off to Moscow, and he was bluntly told to join them there if he wanted to see them again.

The exact number of scientists who have been deported to Russia from Rostock in this fashion is not known, but it is believed to be in the neighbourhood of sixty. When the "German" Administration for Agriculture and Forestry presented its technical and specialist staff with new contracts to sign which contained the sinister clause that the men would follow the administration in the event of its transfer, most of those who were threatened packed their things and fled with their families to the west at once.

According to a report of the U.S. Navy Administration to the Budgetary Committee of Congress, there were no fewer than 10,000

German scientists and technical specialists engaged in Russian industry, etc., by May 1947. Most of them have been secured in the manner described. These methods are applied not only to scientists, specialists and skilled workers, but also to ordinary labourers. For instance, although many German prisoners of war have been sent home as unfit for work, their places have been filled by young men kidnapped in Germany and deported to the Soviet Union. According to the evidence of an eighteen-year-old young German named Wolfgang Bass, who was kidnapped by Russian soldiers in Eisleben on October 20th, 1946, and deported to Russia, there are over 8,000 young Germans between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two engaged in the uranium works in the Urals alone. On June 2nd, 1947, he fled, together with twenty-five companions. Twelve of these men, of whom he was one, succeeded in getting back to Germany.

A teacher named Johann Metzger, who was employed as an interpreter with the I.G. Farben Works in Leipzig, was invited to go to Russia after the dismantling of the works. He refused. On December 5th, 1947, he was in the house of a friend in Buchholz (Harburg district) when someone called for him. He went to the door, and was immediately seized by three men who said they were detectives, and dragged towards a waiting car. However, Metzger fought tooth and nail for his liberty, and set up such a commotion that a crowd began to assemble. Being anxious to avoid publicity, the three alleged detectives then released their victim, hurried back to their car and drove away.

The Russians are assisted in their kidnappings not only by Communists, but also by former Nazis. For instance, at the Preussag in Schoenebeck the two most active assistants of the Russians in this respect are two former members of the Nazi Party, Zimmer, the chief of the construction department, and an engineer named Stert, who is in charge of dismantling. These two prepare lists for the Russians of men likely to be of use to them. According to a proposal of Lieutenant Tebenko, sixty engineers were to be recruited for the construction of automatic machinery so that they might be on hand together when the time came to deport them to Russia.

In order to organize the deportation of trained cadres on a larger scale, the occupation authorities have begun a special registration of all technicians, engineers and specialists, and in particular those likely to be of use for war purposes. This was, of course, the signal for many of the men involved to fly for their lives and liberty. Not only individuals but whole groups made their escape to the Western Zone in this fashion. For instance, in the night before the Schoenebeck Chemical Works was to be handed over to the Russians almost all the staff disappeared, together with all important blue prints and

formulas, and even part of the apparatus. In the Soviet Union the deported men have to live in primitive conditions in a hostile atmosphere and subject to arbitrary tyranny. Small wonder that men who think they are threatened with deportation immediately take to their heels.

It is not long before those who are not fortunate enough to be able to make their escape begin to learn something of the conditions to which they are going. Even during the loading much of their personal property disappears, and on the journey through Poland they suffer still further depredations, whilst on arrival at the Soviet frontier much of what is still left to them is confiscated. Sometimes even worse things happen, for men are often separated from their families and the one does not know what has happened to the other. Returned prisoners of war reported that in Przemysl skilled deportees were compelled to leave the ordinary carriages and make the rest of the journey in cattle-trucks; these men had already been separated from their families and their possessions.

In Odessa, Kiev, Oranienbaum, Kimry and other places, where the dismantled factories were to be reassembled, it often turned out that vital machinery was missing or had been damaged beyond repair, as the dismantling is invariably carried out by the Russians at top speed and without proper care. This is a frequent happening, but in the eyes of the Russians, of course, it is due to "sabotage", and many of the deportees have ended up in forced-labour camps in Siberia. They include everyone who is in the bad books either of the Communists or the Soviet Military Authority. Many former members of the Nazi Party who have gone to the police-stations to register have never returned. All inquiries on the part of their relatives are met with a shrug of the shoulders. But the same fate can just as easily befall people who have never been Nazis. A worried father writes:

> "My son Ernst Miller, official prosecutor in Dessau in 1945–46, who is thirty-four years old and lived in Beilrode near Torgau, Bahnhofsstrasse 10, was arrested for no known reason at the beginning of April. At first he was held in the Police Prison of Halle, but in July he was removed from there, and I have been unable to discover his present whereabouts. My son was never a member of the Nazi Party and there is nothing politically compromising in his career."

Perhaps not, but possibly he lived in a well-furnished house or flat on which some enterprising Communist had set his heart, just like Dr. Scheerbarth in Oranienburg, who was arrested by Fandrich in order to obtain his house. Sometimes these arrests and "expropriations" take place on a mass scale. For instance, in Roda, in Thuringia, a

Russian captain named Schwarzmann obliged the local Communists by arresting all landowners in the district who owned more than 100 hectares of land. Shortly afterwards their families were arrested as well. Some went into concentration camps in Germany, the rest were deported to Russia. It is unlikely that they will ever return.

CHAPTER IX

SABOTAGE

"SABOTAGE" AS a legal conception is something the Eastern Zone owes to its Russian "liberators". Order No. 160 issued by the Chief of the Central Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.D.), Marshal Zhukov, on December 3rd, 1945, makes persons guilty of "diversionary activity" calculated to hamper economic measures introduced by the German self-governing organs or by the German administration, or of sabotage intended to bring about stoppages of work or damage to or destruction of factories, etc., liable to terms of imprisonment up to fifteen years, and in specially serious cases, death. "Sabotage" indictments are heard in summary jurisdiction and disposed of within fifteen days by the Criminal Bench of the High Courts.

A Sabotage Psychosis Introduced into Germany

Order No. 160 of the S.M.A.D., whose unintelligibility and vagueness offer striking proof of the haste and lack of forethought with which it was issued, is unique, in that the terms "diversionary activity" and "sabotage" are used interchangeably. This makes things extremely difficult for the German courts, because they are handicapped from the start by not knowing what exactly is the offence they are supposed to be trying. This confusion of terms was pointed out to the Legal Department of the Central Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.D.) in Karlshorst, together with a request that the text should be redrafted in order that confusion might be avoided, but at the very thought of altering an order bearing the signature of a Soviet Marshal, the Bolshevist legal experts made the sign of the cross in horror and sent the Germans packing.

In Soviet law sabotage and diversionary activity are actions committed with political intent against the existing order of society, with a view to undermining it by acts of destruction or wrecking. Diversionary activity means the destruction of economic values or the destruction of human life by such actions as the blowing up or otherwise destroying of dams, the wrecking of railway trains, causing explosions in mines, and so on. Sabotage, on the other hand, is anything that aims at disturbing the ordinary course of activity of public institutions or of economic life in general, including, of course,

strikes. For instance, if the persons responsible for the execution of the distribution plan deliberately upset it by sending all stocks of certain commodities—for instance, boxes of matches or boots and shoes—into some districts whilst sending none at all to others, or if rubber boots and goloshes were distributed only in summer, whilst tennis shoes were distributed only in winter, this would be sabotage—assuming that the trouble was not due to carelessness or incompetence, but to a deliberate intention to disturb the supply of goods to the people in order to create dissatisfaction and to discredit the regime in the eyes of its citizens—i.e. with counter-revolutionary intent.

Thus it is clear that the two conceptions, diversionary activity and sabotage, were both engendered in the specific atmosphere of the bolshevist dictatorship. Even in the Soviet Union it is, by the admission of no less an expert than Molotov, difficult to decide where to draw the legal line between malice aforethought and mere incompetence—and no very great trouble is taken to do so. The Soviet authorities are inclined to put down every disturbance in their plans to sabotage and diversionary activity; it is so very much simpler. And as the Soviet authorities have developed the habit of suspecting evil intentions everywhere, the Soviet State lives in a constant whirl of "sabotage and diversionary activity". Naturally, in a conquered country like Germany, where the Russians are quite sure that all sorts of Fascist plotting is going on, the sabotage psychosis takes on dangerous dimensions.

In order to understand the tremendous confusion which is being created in the Eastern Zone by the introduction of this new term "sabotage" into the penal dictionary one must first obtain some idea of how bolshevist "planned economy" is worked. The original idea at the bottom of the scheme is to secure the greatest possible satisfaction of mass demand with the most rational development of production. The execution of that admirable idea presupposes first of all the uniform planning and guidance of the whole economic system, and this can, by its very nature, only be done centrally and from above, and secondly, a firm conviction on the part of the masses that the total mobilization of all labour power in the service of the plan benefits in the last resort every single individual of the whole working community. Unless the masses are firmly convinced that the socialization of the means of production in this way will bring them all, severally and individually, a better and happier life, then the most important factor calculated to increase production—namely, the individual increase of performance, which in the last resort is rooted in the instinct of self-preservation—is absent, and the scheme must fail.

The historical development of the Soviet Union into a police State in which the human being is regarded and treated as a mere cog in a larger machine whose levers are in the hands of a few "leaders", has caused the whole of social life in the Soviet Union to be dominated by the unquestioned authority of the few and the unconditional obedience of the many. This inevitably led to the development of a new ruling class, which sought, and seeks, to perpetuate itself and its privileges by repressing and economically exploiting the masses. As every deviation from the settled scheme can offer a basis for organized resistance, no personal initiative is, or can be, permitted. So-called "Socialist Competition", and every other form of substitute for the normal creative urge, does not develop from below, but is imposed by the authorities from above. In a system of society which leaves the individual no freedom at all, the natural joy of a man in his work and his belief in the reasonable significance of his own labour must wither away. The upshot is that before long labour becomes a mere mechanical process; the human being has really become merely a cog in a machine.

But the nature of man cannot be violated with impunity; if the joy of creation is suppressed, then it will turn into a destructive force. Thus sabotage and wrecking really do take place under the bolshevist system; it is not all imagination. But they are not the result of any resistance on the part of a formerly ruling class now deprived of its power by a new class—a factor which, incidentally, is no longer of any significance whatever—but the inevitable result of a system which leaves no room for the healthy development of the initiative of the individual. The spontaneous resistance of the massses to the misuse and exploitation of human energies by an inhuman system in the selfish interests of a small minority, which finds a natural and proper vent in democratic societies through the normal institutions of civic freedom—freedom of criticism, freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom of conscience, freedom of assembly, the right to strike, the right to organize, and so on—inevitably degenerates in a dictatorial system and poisons the whole organism.

This process is fully mature in the Soviet Union; in the Eastern Zone it is still in course of development. The population of the Eastern Zone already have a good idea of what the bolshevist dictatorship means, but their understanding is not yet clear and complete, and, above all, they still cherish a hope that better times will one day dawn for them. Many people have already fallen into apathy, resignation or hopeless despair, but there is still very little sign of sabotage or diversionary activity.

Yet sabotage processes are being conducted wholesale in the

Eastern Zone. How does that come about? Let us judge from a few practical cases.

Sabotage Indictments from Fear

Order No. 160 of the Central Soviet Military Authority on sabotage and diversionary activity, both conceptions taken from Soviet law, does not make it clear that in both cases there must be political intent directed against the existing regime. Even the administration instructions drawn up by the Central Legal Administration at the request of the S.M.A.D. clear up the matter only in part, in that they call for the presence of "malice". How this is interpreted can be seen in the terror verdicts passed by the Osterburg Court, which were themselves dictated by fear of the local Russian Kommandantur. Here is the source of the whole trouble; military administration carried out in the form of orders whose strict execution is demanded as a matter of course and without question is in every way the most inefficient and unproductive form of civil administration. It is rigid and authoritarian, and it is not prepared to consider even reasonable objections. A military administration carried on in the interests of a dictatorially ruled police State like the Soviet Union is even less open to reasonable arguments and objections.

How is the administration of the Eastern Zone carried on in practice? The central authorities in Moscow send out their orders, which are themselves in accordance with the changing needs of their political line. The military commander in Germany is dependent on these orders, and he is given very little room for manœuvre in the matter of interpretation. As the economic system of the Eastern Zone is treated by the Moscow authorities as a mere appendage to the economic system of the Soviet Union, and one which must be exploited to the utmost in the interests of the latter, all other considerations are of minor moment, and the least important consideration of all is the needs of the population of the zone. The usual Soviet methods are employed to secure the execution of Moscow's orders: the order of a superior is irrefragable law for the subordinate.

In matters of detail, however, every superior—read Commander—does just what he pleases, and each and every Commander is guided by the desire to shine in the eyes of his superiors. Therefore each Commander is most anxious that "the plan" should not merely be "fulfilled", but "over-fulfilled". In Soviet practice this does not mean that the result aimed at is really obtained—that is to say, from the standpoint of economic success rather than the standpoint of statistics and fulfilment dates—but that the order, whatever it is, is reported as having been fulfilled, irrespective of future productivity or anything else. As such plans are invariably drawn up without

consultation with those involved, without taking practical possibilities into account, and without consideration for local conditions, the upshot is that a gulf—often a vast gulf—quickly opens up between the aims of the plan and the practical possibilities. Whoever is entrusted with the fulfilment of the plan must then see what he can do to make the facts fit the procrustean bed of the plan. If he does not succeed in making some sort of outward show, he is punished, and probably severely punished, by the S.M.A. The courts in the Soviet Union have no mercy on their own fellow countrymen, so why should any mercy be shown to others? Sentences of five and ten years forced labour for "sabotage", etc., are passed wholesale in the Soviet Union. Clearly there is no reason why the fate of the Germans—the "brutal fascist pack"—should be any better. The Soviet Commandant is therefore not likely to risk a rebuke from his superior on their account. If the Germans do not fulfil their delivery quotas, then they are for the high jump—the right and proper fate of all wreckers.

Order No. 163 46 of the (S.M.A.D.) reads:

> "The Landrat of the District shall send a written warning to any economically responsible person who does not fufil his performance quota, and give him a period of five days in which the whole amount in arrears shall be brought up to date. . . . If the quota is still not fulfilled within the five days grace given by the Landrat then the Landrat of the District shall lay all the information before the court in order that the person responsible shall be brought to justice in accordance with order 160 45."

On December 21st, 1946, the Chief of the S.M.A.D. issued the following order:

> "The heads of co-operatives and firms are to be made responsible for the safety of their stores, and they must not allow them to spoil or be stolen. . . . They must organize a strict control and guard over all stores. Infringers of these instructions, including persons who allow goods to spoil or be stolen, are to be punished in accordance with Order No. 160 of December 3rd, 1945."

In other words, when "plunderers in Russian uniform", as the phrase is, break into warehouses and steal goods, then the persons responsible for their safety—"inviolability" is the word employed—are to be hauled before the courts and punished.

The showers of orders which descend on the unhappy Eastern Zone from its innumerable Russian commanders present great and often insuperable difficulties for the ordinary citizen, and deep moral conflicts for German judges. The following circular of the President

of the Supreme Court and Attorney General in Gera to all courts and Public Prosecutors in his jurisdiction gives some idea of the conflicts involved.

"The Department for Agriculture and Forestry has written to the Department of Justice (November 19th, 1948): Following on the orders of the Soviet Military Authority, or of local commanders, it is to be expected that numerous proceedings will be opened in the near future against peasants who have found it impossible to fufil the delivery quotas imposed on them. As in many cases the peasants were just not in a position to fulfil them, you are instructed to inform your authorities and courts that in all cases which come before them the district Landrat or his agricultural expert is to be called to give evidence."

Such instructions do honour to the sense of justice of the German authorities involved, but at the same time they throw light on the arbitrary regime which has been established in the Eastern Zone. Incidentally, the German authorities themselves are not immune from charges of "sabotage" if they do not immediately dance to the Russian tune. What pressure is exercised by the Russian military authorities to secure savage sentences in cases of so-called sabotage we have already seen from the report of the President of the High Court in Neuruppin. That was by no means an exceptional case; on the contrary, it is typical of what constantly goes on in the Eastern Zone. A report of the Public Prosecutor's Department in Leipzig dealing with various prosecutions declares: "In the overwhelming majority of the cases the basis of the prosecution was an order from the local Kommandantur for the opening of proceedings in accordance with Order No. 160." And the Potsdam Legal Administration reports on July 19th, 1946:

"The local Russian Commandants are pressing for the immediate trial of farmers and peasants charged with having failed to fulfil their delivery quotas before courts which are not legally entitled to hear such cases. Prosecutors and judges who resist such demands have to reckon with considerable difficulties."

"Considerable difficulties" is putting it mildly. In order to avoid arrest themselves, Public Prosecutors are drawing up indictments wholesale charging accused peasants with "sabotage", even for the most minor infringements of delivery quotas, etc., and even when the conditions laid down in Order No. 160 for the institution of such proceedings are clearly lacking. The local Russian Commandant insists, and that is enough. The task of the unfortunate judge is then to reconcile the law and his conscience with the irate demands of the

local Commandant. The hardest hit is the unfortunate accused, for even if he is finally acquitted of a charge which could bring him severe punishment, he has already suffered both physically and financially.

The ordinary process of law is not quick enough for the Russians. Verdicts and sentences on a rapidly moving band is more in accordance with their ideas. Courts have often been compelled to sit on holidays and late into the night in order to get a verdict quickly because the Russians demand it. Abandoned by their own superiors, most of whom are members of the "Unity" Party who wag their tails as soon as a Russian uniform comes in sight, under pressure from their own Landraete, most of whom are also "Unity" Party nominees, and in fear of the N.K.V.D., German judges often pass heavier sentences than they can reconcile with their consciences. Most judges heave a sigh of relief when "Schoeffen", who at least need not fear immediate economic ruin, point out extenuating circumstances.

Accusations Descend like Rain

Anything and everything can be construed as "sabotage" and brought "within the meaning of the Act". Let us consider a few examples chosen at random.

In the night from January 15th to the 16th the boiler at the electric power-station in Muskau broke down. As a result the supply of electric current for lighting and power was temporarily interrupted. In normal times the man responsible for the carelessness—if it was carelessness—would have been reprimanded or, in the worst case, dismissed. Not so under the democratic regime of the Liberators. On the express order of the Town Commandant, the Public Prosecutor was compelled to file a charge of sabotage against the unfortunate stoker. However, the facts which came out at the trial showed so clearly that there had been no malice and no sabotage that the stoker had to be acquitted.

An Economic Administrator, Dr. G. of Joesnitz, and a manufacturer O. of Greiz were brought to trial at the direct instructions of the S.M.A. on a charge of sabotage for not having passed on orders of the S.M.A. in a "textually accurate state". The charges were dismissed because investigation showed that the instructions as passed on were "essentially correct", and that the variations were immaterial and unavoidable owing to the difficulties of translation from the Russian.

Three responsible employees of an electro-motor works who had taken valuable tools and apparatus for which they were responsible to their homes for safety owing to constant cases of theft, bringing

them back to the works as and when they were required, were charged with sabotage, but had to be acquitted.

The head of a coal firm in Bautzen was brought to trial for sabotage because allegedly he had failed to secure an equitable distribution of coals as between the butchers, bakers and candlestick-makers of his sales area, thereby hindering—"sabotaging"—the economic plans of the German self-governing organs. He, too, was fortunate enough to be acquitted.

The owner of a workshop for the manufacture of precision instruments was brought up for trial for "sabotaging" the work of the Labour Exchange. His crime was that he had refused to employ the unskilled men the Exchange had sent him because only highly skilled workers were of any use in his workshop. He, too, was acquitted. Incidentally, had he literally carried out his instructions and employed the unskilled workers, he might just as easily have faced a charge of "sabotage" for deliberately employing unskilled workers on highly skilled work.

Another man was charged with sabotage for not having carried out an order of a Russian Commander which proved impossible of fulfilment despite his best efforts. The owner of a factory was charged with offering for sale shares in a registered company which was listed for requisitioning in the near future. His lawyer took his place in the dock beside him. A peasant found himself charged with sabotage because he had allegedly "let" two churns of milk go sour. Another accused was the manager of a ceramics factory; his offence was that he had allegedly made an incomplete return of stocks. An official found himself charged because he had refused the application of a meeting of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Society for the allotment of a hectare of land for the sowing of linseed. A factory owner was charged with sabotage for having allegedly insufficiently bestirred himself to obtain cellulose needed to fulfil his production quota. The manager of a machine park was charged with not having agricultural machinery ready in time for use when required. He was able to prove that he had approached one firm after the other in order to get the necessary repairs carried out in time. A peasant was brought before the courts charged with having made a false return concerning the number of cattle in his possession. A factory worker was charged with not having fulfilled reparations orders. He was able to prove that it had been impossible to obtain the requisite supplies of raw materials. And all for "sabotage".

As an example of the unreasonable demands made by the Russians, which have to be met "unconditionally" irrespective of their unreasonableness, the order of the S.M.A. in Dresden for the delivery within three weeks of lace which was not in stock and

would take a year to produce in normal circumstances, may be quoted. Despite all the objective arguments put forward, the S.M.A. insisted that the lace must be delivered. When it was not delivered it ordered the preparation of an indictment for sabotage.

Or take the case of the wholesale potato-dealer Wetzstein according to the indictment prepared by the Public Prosecutor's Department in Leipzig on April 29th, 1946.

"Wetzstein spoke to friends on the street in an angry and indignant fashion concerning the high prices prevailing on the market. But he spoke so loudly that passers-by could hear him, declaring: 'The scoundrels demand 90 pfennig a pound for carrots on the free market, whilst the shopkeeper is only allowed to charge 24 pfennig. That's a worse state of affairs than under Hitler. They ought to pay the workers higher wages if they expect them to pay prices like that. But the workers are stupid. They all ought to go on strike to show that they don't agree with such a state of affairs.' When he was warned for saying such things out loud, Wetzstein replied: 'I'm wound up properly to-day. Let everybody in Leutzsch hear me. It's about time somebody said it out loud.' Whereupon he was arrested and taken to the police-station. On the way he said to the policeman who had taken him in charge: 'And I'll say it again just the same in court, because it's the truth.' Subsequently when he was questioned Wetzstein showed no repentance on account of his speech and his incitement to the workers to strike against the institution of a free market by the S.M.A. His action was calculated in the extreme to hinder the economic measures of the Government, and in particular to undermine the building-up of production. With this he has made himself guilty of the crime of sabotage."

A beautiful picture of conditions in the Eastern Zone under the "New Democracy"—with the Russian occupation forces in the background. A citizen, who has probably had a drop to drink, lets off steam, and subsequently refuses to do penance. Instead of a minor charge of creating a public nuisance or a breach of the peace, he is hauled before the courts and charged with sabotage, for which he can get fifteen years or, if the Soviet authorities think his case exceptionally serious, the death sentence.

A charge made against the owner of a factory producing weighing-machines by the free trade union organization in Bautzen had a different background. Allegedly with malicious intent, the firm employed only two skilled workers and ten apprentices when it could have employed at least thirty workers; kept valuable electrical machinery out of use; and refused orders which it could very well

have fulfilled. It turned out that two men employed by the firm were anxious to bring about a seizure of the firm so that they could become "State executors". The trial showed that the whole indictment was baseless. With the best will in the world the Public Prosecutor could bring forward no solid evidence in support of his charge of sabotage.

Perhaps the topmost pinnacle in this fantastic compaign was reached by the local police in Rhena who charged a young schoolteacher in Mecklenburg with sabotage because she had failed to put back the receiver of a public telephone. Fortunately the young delinquent found an understanding judge who dismissed the charge.

Hostages are Taken

In all the cases quoted above the charges were either quashed or dismissed as unfounded, but such affairs do not always end with a mere waste of public time and money. For instance, all the members of the directorial board of the famous Bayerische Motorenwerke (B.M.W.) in Eisenach, the biggest motor-car manufacturing firm left in the Eastern Zone, were arrested for failing to fulfil the firm's production quota. The same fate was suffered for the same cause by the directorial board of the Siemens-Schuckert Works in Sonneberg-Oberlind. Out of 1,800 employees of the Burbach Potash Works, only thirty-six are members of the "Unity" Party. Obviously, the place is a hotbed of Fascist sabotage, or so the N.K.V.D. thought, for in the spring of 1947 it arrested twenty-five hostages from amongst the staff in order to put an end to "constant sabotage". Since then nothing has been heard of the unfortunate men.

The production quotas imposed by the Russians on German firms are usually far in excess of practical possibilities, but when they are not fulfilled it is, of course, not the plans which were wrong, but sabotage. For instance, the A.E.G. in Bautzen was given a production quota of goods to the value of 4·6 million marks annually. Owing to the acute shortage of raw materials, production in 1946 reached only a total value of 600,000 marks. What was the cause? Difficulties for which no one was responsible? Insane raising of the production quotas by the Russians? Oh no! a lack of good will on the part of those responsible amounting to a sabotage of the process of reconstruction. It is true, of course, that, far from improving matters, these wild charges of "sabotage" make things worse because they kill every vestige of independent initiative—everyone is afraid of doing anything without being covered by someone else. But at least they do provide Moscow with a satisfactory and acceptable explanation.

The following is a practical example of the sort of thing that happens constantly. According to the orders of the Central Soviet Military Authority (Order No. 55), 1,000 grams of flour have to be made into 1,500 grams of bread. However, in view of the poor quality of the flour, it is impossible to get so much bread out of it without baking-troughs, and, as these are unobtainable, the manager of the Trade and Supplies Department of the Town Council of Rostock, an understanding official named Griem, allowed bakers to do the best they could without troughs, which meant in the upshot that the loaves weighed only 1,400 grams instead of the obligatory 1,500 grams. Baking tests under control could produce no more than a maximum weight of 1,410 grams. Despite this, the Criminal Bench of the High Court of Rostock found Griem guilty of sabotaging the instructions of the S.M.A.D., and sentenced him to ten months imprisonment, on the ground that he should have done his best to carry out the order—although controlled tests showed that it was impossible, with the best will in the world, to get 1,500 grams of bread out of 1,000 grams of the poor-quality flour provided. The Russian Caesar demands a verdict of guilty, and a verdict of guilty is churned out in defiance of all the evidence, and an innocent man is ruined and sent to prison.

The same outrageous violations of justice can be met with on all fields of jurisprudence. Take the case of Franz and Lotte St., the joint owners of a china and household-goods business, who were sentenced to two years hard labour each by the Criminal Bench of the High Court of Greisfwald. In addition, they were deprived of all civil rights for five years, and all their property was confiscated. Of what had these two felons been guilty? Going on the thoroughly established principle of management that no shopkeeper can exist if he sells off all his stock without the possibility of replacing it, these two shopkeepers had endeavoured to sell their goods by degrees only, instead of all at once. There was no question of charging higher prices. If the State had requisitioned the whole stock in order to make it immediately available to the public, there might have been some sense in it, but to permit, as the authorities do, the continued existence of private traders, and then make it impossible for them to trade by compelling them to get rid of the only stock they have to trade in, irrespective of conditions, is a brutal mockery. Such sentences, of which there have been innumerable cases, have no relation to justice or equity; they aim at the destruction of the small trader, which is the intention of the powers in the Eastern Zone.

Or if the Russian military authorities, whose taste is, of course, exquisite, do not like your products, then woe betide you. Consider

the following order of the Chief of the Soviet Military Authority for Saxony No. 323, dated November 6th, 1946:

"The clothing supplied by the firms Lange & Lischke in Schoenheide and by Escher, Steiner & Co., in Zschorlau are to be regarded beyond all question as rubbish. . . . Each dress is made up of several different materials, sometimes including two and three different colours, while stitching is used on dark-coloured material, the cut is execrable, despite the fact that all the conditions were present for the production of high-quality goods. I order herewith that the owners of the firm Lange & Lischke should lose their property, which is hereby confiscated, for resisting the carrying out of the instructions of the Soviet Military Authority, for deliberately producing goods of inferior quality, and for spoiling raw materials the property of the State. In addition, they are to be brought before the court to answer for their offences. The expropriated firm Lange & Lischke is henceforth the property of the people. Vice-President Selbmann will now appoint experienced managers to take over the firm and guarantee good production. The owner of the firm Escher, Steiner & Co., Herr Escher, is hereby fined 3,000 marks and is ordered to replace the rejected goods by December 1st, 1946. I make it the duty of Dr. Friedrichs, the President of the Federal Land Saxony, to inform all firms that their directors and owners will be made personally responsible for inferior products turned out by their firms, and called strictly to account.

(Sig.) MAJOR-GENERAL DUBROVSKI.
Chief of the S.M.A. Administration for Saxony.

(Sig.) MAJOR-GENERAL DUDOROV.
Chief of Staff of the S.M.A. in Saxony.

Correctness of the above confirmed:

(Sig.) MAJOR OF THE GUARDS BIELUSSOV.
Chief of the Chancellory of the S.M.A. Administration in Saxony."

When the Majors-General of the Red Army occupy themselves with the make, colour and cut of women's clothing, anything can happen! But the Vice-President, Herr Selbmann—a prominent member of the "Unity" Party of course—obediently wagged his tail, and sent out copies of this egregious order to all departments of the Saxon administration dealing with economic questions, adding his own comment:

"In passing on this order to the most important firms in your orbit you should point out that in the future all cases of violation of the general orders of the S.M.A. or of the Saxon Government referring to the carrying out of general economic tasks will similarly involve punitive measures against the firms in question."

Mechanical Delivery Norms and Administrative Compulsion.

In order to meet the insistent demands of the peasants for a just grading of delivery norms, the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association proposed that a registration of land should take place throughout the whole of the Eastern Zone, that all arable land should be divided into eight classes, and that each peasant farm should then be placed in a certain category and have its delivery quota fixed according to size, number of members in the family, and so on. Such a complicated registration cannot be carried out as a centralized measure ordered from above. It was calculated that on such a basis no fewer than 15,000 separate quotas would have to be fixed for a comparatively small district like Gardelegen. The bureaucratic apparatus required would be even larger than at present, which in any case has a tendency to work slowly, to regard itself as an end instead of a means, and to burden farming beyond all reason.

If the delivery quotas are not fixed individually, then they cannot be fixed justly or with any reasonable hope that they will be fulfilled. But once the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association is brought in, as it demands, to fix the delivery quotas collectively for whole communities, then there will be no further hindrance to a complete transition to collective farming along Kolkhoz lines, although experience in the Soviet Union has shown that the system suffers from so many abuses and defects that in the end rational agricultural production is made impossible.

The delivery quotas for 1947 were fixed by the S.M.A.D. for whole provinces. These delivery quotas have to be fulfilled in all circumstances. The province authorities allot quotas to each district, and within the districts the respective authorities allot quotas for the various communities. The inter-community quotas have to be allotted by April 25th. Up to May 10th a further grading of quotas can take place, but in not more than five groups. When the ogre known as "the Plan" has passed safely through all its stages from above to below, the peasant is finally told what he has to sow, how much of each sowing, and how much he has to deliver of the final harvest. The times at which he has to sow, harvest, thresh, etc., and deliver are also laid down for him. No consideration is shown for the varied abilities and knowledge of the peasants or for the differences in their holdings. Market-gardening peasants are made

to produce grain whilst experienced cattle-breeders have to grunt and sweat over the—for them—unusual task of vegetable-growing. New-comers without experience are set to growing tomatoes or cauliflowers. The planners often seem ignorant of simple facts such as that potatoes will not grow satisfactorily in certain soils.

The peasants can always reckon with surprises: forest land may appear in the plan as arable, and so on. In addition, they may easily find themselves credited in the plan with more land than they actually farm. A peasant may find that the plan credits him with 42 hectares, whilst he has only 40 hectares in reality, and that makes a lot of difference when it comes to fulfilling his delivery quota. Or a whole community may suddenly find its arable on paper increased by as much as 600 hectares. As, in the bolshevist view, a peasant who farms 25 hectares and over is a big farmer or "kulak", and therefore a socially undesirable element, it is such peasants who suffer chiefly from this chicanery. Large-scale holdings have to deliver double the quantity per hectare. When a peasant fails to make his quota, no matter what the circumstances or how great the difficulties he may have encountered, he runs the risk of finding himself in the dock charged as a "wrecker" of the process of reconstruction. Such a charge can have the most serious consequences: he may find that "executors" are appointed; he can lose his farm; he can be arrested; he can be heavily fined; and he can serve a term of imprisonment, perhaps a long one.

"Red Saxony" serves as a model in this respect, too. In the summer of 1947 so-called "peasants' courts" were instituted to deal with "wreckers" in summary jurisdiction within twenty-four hours and without "Schoeffen".* This example was followed in the Mark Brandenburg. In Torgau (Saxe-Anhalt) the Landraete have been empowered to seize the holdings of peasants who fail to fulfil their delivery quotas, and to appoint "executors" to manage the holding without any further legal formality. The opportunity this gives the leaders of the "Unity" Party of dispossessing any peasant or farmer who does not see eye to eye with them can be imagined. Peasants who for some reason or the other have not sown all their land are also liable to have their holdings confiscated. Peasants who suffer this fate have to leave their land and farmhouses at the shortest possible notice, taking only a minimum of personal possessions with them. The "People's Democracy" makes short work of "wreckers".

An authenticated report from Tremsdorf near Berlin sounds in-

* In German legal procedure a "Schoeffe" is a sort of cross between a juryman and a lay judge or assessor, and his presence in the court side by side with the judge proper has much the same significance as the presence of a jury in England —i.e. to balance the professionalism of the judge by the commonsense opinion of the "good men and true" on the jury.—Tr.

credible, but it is true. In consequence of a period of drought during the critical months of 1947, many peasants were unable to fulfil their delivery quotas. All those who had failed were arrested by the police and locked up in cellars. Even the Mayor of Tremsdorf himself was not spared. In one case a girl of nineteen was locked up in place of her bedridden mother in pursuance of the good old bolshevist principle of family responsibility. Even peasants of seventy years old were amongst those imprisoned in this way.

Cattle-breeders are told the numbers they must bring up; where they get the fodder from is their business. The figures for January 1947 are taken as a basis, and a man, for instance, who had five pigs at that time has to deliver 400 kilos of pork by the specified delivery date. In order to fulfil their quotas many peasants have had to slaughter young porkers and even sows in farrow. The fact that peasants frequently resort to such economically insane actions is a measure of the terrorism to which they are exposed. Peasants are often threatened that unless they fulfil their delivery quotas their holdings will be confiscated and they will be arrested and deported to Siberia. In order to avoid such a fate the unfortunate peasant is, of course, prepared to do anything.

No consideration whatever is shown to the peasants, or even to hard facts. For instance, if a peasant loses one of his cows he still has to go on delivering her quota of milk throughout the year. A peasant who lost most of his chickens in an epidemic of poultry disease had his egg quota reduced but his meat quota increased. Thirty-two peasants in the Meiniger district were sentenced to four months imprisonment each for non-fulfilment of their milk-delivery quotas, although their cows were dry before calving, whilst some of them had lost their milk because they had had to be used as draught beasts in the absence of horses and oxen, and were thus no longer prepared to adjust their milk supply to suit the behests of the occupation authorities. When Mayors take up the cudgels on behalf of unfortunate peasants they are quickly taught better. For instance, Landrat Dreykorn of the Weimar district sent out a special circular to his Mayors warning them against letting themselves be used as the mouthpieces of "discontented elements". Thuringia was well behind other States in the delivery of milk, and that had to be remedied. In his opinion the epidemic which had led to the demise of scores of cows in the Weimar district was not the main cause of the trouble.

Of course, the Landraete themselves are under pressure from the local Russian Commanders, and, partly out of fear and partly out of delight at the opportunity of demonstrating their new-found power, many of these men are guilty of arbitrary illegalities towards the peasants, though in these days it is not easy to tell what is illegal in

the new dispensation and what not. For instance, the Landrat of Malchin in Mecklenburg summoned all the peasants of his district to a meeting, gave them a severe lecture and then made them all sign a form, reading: "I, the undersigned, undertake to fulfil my delivery quotas promptly. In the event of my failing to do so I acknowledge that I am well aware of the consequences." Whether this was done at the instance of the local Russian Commander, or whether it was just a bright idea of the Landrat himself, is of little importance; it is quite in accordance with the general spirit of the Russian administration.

The new Landraete, and also the leading officials of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, are usually men without any expert knowledge or experience of farming, and this is not surprising, because they were all appointed for political reasons. The result is that they all tend to regard any objections on the score of practical considerations as "lead-swinging", or, to give it its more sinister term, "sabotage". In this respect they are completely at one with the Russian occupation authorities. As the Russians are brutally severe and arrest peasants at once when they fail to fulfil their delivery quotas, peasants often surrender their seed grain as well. If even that is insufficient, then they do their utmost to get hold of grain, or whatever commodity is in question, elsewhere, thereby plunging themselves into debt and making things still worse in the future. What the peasant is to do the following year without seed is another matter, but at least for the moment he has avoided arrest. This sort of thing is going on everywhere under the Russian knout; that it makes matters much worse and lowers production rather than raising it is clear. The Russian regime is one of reckless and senseless exploitation, and it is digging deep into the very substance of agriculture.

If a peasant has seed, or manages to get hold of it somehow or other, then the sowing starts. But he is not left to his own devices to use his own experience and judgment. The local Russian Commandant is constantly interfering. It is he who fixes the sowing dates and the dates by which the sowings must be completed, and everything is ordered in haste, and far too little time allowed to do the job properly; all he is interested in is that he can report that "his" sowings have been completed in time, or even earlier. What happens to the harvest, whether it is good or bad, that comes later; one thing at a time. The great thing is that he can put in a triumphant report to his superiors.

In the same way, beet often has to be sent off to the factories before it is properly ripe, and the same is true of potatoes, grain and other crops. Whoever delivers first is rewarded with "premiums" of tobacco, butter, wool and sometimes money—and there is no short-

age of schnapps. A peasant in favour can be proclaimed a "Hero of Labour", or a "Hero of Reconstruction", etc., all in the traditional spirit of bolshevist ballyhoo. The Potsdam Government has instituted a special and highly ornate flag to be presented annually to the district which gets its deliveries in first. On the flag are stitched in gold the proud words: "Flag of the Good Deliverers".

The most grotesque tricks are practised in the race for new "records". Prince Potemkin, you should be living in these days! The village of Schackensleben in Saxe-Anhalt was chosen "from above" to show the rest of the peasants that, despite the bad winter and the drought, it was possible not only to fulfil the delivery quotas promptly but to fulfil them "in advance"—no less than four months before the final date. In order to do this every possible aid and assistance was poured into Schackensleben, and nothing was spared, from smear-oil to schnapps. All possible forces were mobilized, and day and night the work went on uninterruptedly. Unfortunately, the stage-manager had over-reached himself, and despite all the hubbub it proved impossible to complete the harvest by the specified time, August 27th. By August 31st 5 per cent still remained, and it was some days before the "Open Letter of the Peasants of Schackensleben to all the Peasants of the Eastern Zone" (which the local "Unity" Party grandee was keeping impatiently in his drawer) could be sent out to the Press and the wireless, describing how the peasants of Schackensleben had rolled up their sleeves and got the job done, and calling on all other peasants to follow their triumphant example. The "Open Letter" had, of course, been written "spontaneously" by the victors in their enthusiasm at concluding such a wonderful performance.

The following is another "spontaneous" decision on the part of a local council challenging other rural districts to a competition in early deliveries. Its traditional note of bolshevist blarney is unmistakable:

"*Decision of the Vahrholz Rural District*

"The Rural District of Vahrholz is prepared to complete its potato deliveries by October 1st, 1947, and its deliveries of grain, milk, meat and eggs by October 10th, in order to come to the assistance of the population in the towns. It appeals to all other rural districts of the Salzwedel area to conclude their deliveries in advance of the dates fixed, and thus to guarantee the food of the townspeople and to counter the machinations of the black market. Let us show that we are determined to assist in the building up of a new democratic Germany, and strike the weapons out of the hands of the Reaction!"

The rural district of Kottbus won the "Peasant Banner"—a red flag with gold stitchery, instituted by the Brandenburg Provincial Government—for the quickest and best fulfilment of the delivery quotas, and it was presented by the Prime Minister of Brandenburg, Dr. Steinhoff, in person at a solemn meeting at the trade union house. In this respect, too, Nazis and Communists are on common ground: a "Golden Age" must have golden flags.

Artificial "Land Reform" Produces New "Sabotage"

The new Land Reform scheme plays an important political role in the Eastern Zone. A total of 2,852,000 hectares have been expropriated in the course of the action, and, of this total, 1,972,000 hectares, or about 29·2 per cent, have been distributed in lots of approximately five hectares each to "New" peasants, who, incidentally, were not by any means always fugitives or poor peasants or propertyless land-workers.

The scheme was launched under the slogan of "Junker Land in Peasant's Hand". It was badly prepared and badly organized, and the distribution of the land was carried out primarily from a political angle rather than in accordance with economic considerations. For instance, in Mecklenburg the re-distribution of the confiscated land took place at the orders of the local Russian Commandant, and often had to be carried out within forty-eight hours. Mayors placed in such a situation by the peremptory orders of local Commandants were at their wits end. No time was allowed them to find suitable candidates likely to till the soil properly, and they were therefore compelled to let the land go to almost anyone who was willing to take it, particularly if he had the right party-book in his pocket. The effect this sort of thing has on the effective working of the scheme can be imagined. But at least the local Russian Commander could report a new "record".

In addition, the land was distributed without any arrangements being made to see that the new settlers were given what they needed to till it properly. Tens of thousands of them lack even the most essential implements, etc. At a general estimate there are 63,000 dwelling-houses, 71,000 stalls and 70,000 barns lacking. The number of cattle and other animals available for distribution proved insufficient to give each settler even one cow, pig, horse or sheep. In many districts the Russians had themselves plundered the holdings and carried off everything of any value, including implements, machinery and livestock, often burning down the farm buildings. The "New" peasants stood helplessly on their plots without fodder, seed, manure, straw, forks, spades, nails, horse-shoes or even buckets. And many of them had not even a pair of solid boots to

work in. There was no leather for repairs to harness and no building materials for repairs to what buildings were left.

There was a building plan for 1947 to provide the new settlers with wooden huts at least, but this came to nothing because the Central Russian Military Authority in Karlshorst confiscated all the timber that had been ear-marked for the purpose and despatched it to Russia. Most of the agricultural machinery urgently needs repairs. The land is full of weeds or churned up with bomb-craters. Bridges have been destroyed and wells fouled. Debris, dirt, bombs, shells and mines must often be shifted before there can be any question of tillage. In such circumstances it requires a great deal of courage—or optimistic ignorance—to become a settler at all. Another difficulty is the insistence of the Russian authorities on five hectares as the allotment, because for them anything beyond that betokens the "kulak". But in fact even in normal times five hectares is too small an area for economic working in the conditions of German agriculture, and in present conditions it is less suitable than ever.

The "Land Reform Scheme" also has its Potemkin Villages. On April 6th, 1946, the new settlement "Neudorf" was formally opened with a great ceremony on the former military training-grounds at Zeithaim, near Riesa. Representatives of the Press and the wireless were present, and altogether the thing was arranged to give public opinion the best possible impression of the new scheme. Every settler had his own comfortable home, and in addition every plot had a horse, a cow, a pig and a sheep. In reality the livestock had been hurriedly confiscated at the last moment from the "Old" peasants of the neighbourhood without any legal process, and irrespective of whether the unfortunate owners were "Nazis" or "Anti-Fascists". Some of the "Old" peasants lost all their modest livestock in this way. Once the propaganda drum had been whacked and all the visitors had gone home, the "New" peasants were left to their own devices—apart from regular police inspections to see that they were doing what they were told.

The authorities have promised themselves that the "New" peasants will provide them with a political basis in the countryside, whilst, generally speaking, they expect the "Old" peasants to prove hostile and recalcitrant. Whether the first speculation turns out to be well founded or not, there is little doubt that the second is. The "Old" peasants have to deprive themselves of all sorts of things in order to "assist" the "New", and in the end their only prospect is that one day—probably in the not-too-distant future—they will be lumped in with them as members of collective farms. The Russians know that the "Old" peasants hate the idea of collective farming, and therefore they are anxious to squeeze them slowly out of exist-

ence. Many of the children of the "Old" peasants who belonged to the Hitler Youth—often a matter of course—have been taken away from them "for re-education", and in order to intimidate the parents, they are sometimes taken out of their beds at night for "inquiries". As in the days of Hitler and his Nazis, the peasants are more and more swept up into all sorts of public institutions: insurance against hail, health insurance, etc. No one dare stay out of any new scheme which is introduced; they are all too scared to do so—and with good cause. Underneath the surface there is a great deal of discontent and muttering. "It's worse now than under Hitler. At least he left us our children until they were ten; now they're taken away at five as soon as they come out of the kindergarten."

The nearer the time approaches for the introduction of the collective-farm system the more onerous grows the chicanery practised at the expense of the bigger landholders. Just as in Russia, the first stage proceeded at the expense of the big landowners for the benefit of the peasants as a whole, and the second stage is now proceeding at the expense of the "Old" peasants, most of whom farm larger holdings, for the benefit of the "New" peasants, the five-hectare men. Soon all of them will be pitchforked together into the Kolkhoz farms.

In October 1947, peasants in the Mark Brandenburg, not only peasants who had been altogether expropriated, but also those who had been partly expropriated so that their holdings were now within the prescribed limits, were ordered to get ready to leave their homes and go to other parts. The conditions concerning what they could take with them were just as onerous as when the Poles expelled German peasants from the land in the territory they had seized. The time allowed before deportation was so short that many of the men concerned were unable to settle even urgent family matters. For instance, in Schwante, near Berlin, a family was not even permitted to stay a day or so longer to attend the burial of one of its members. A peasant in Etzia in the East Havel district, who had been blinded in the war, committed suicide when he heard that his family had to leave the farm.

The old farmhouses have been declared "manorial buildings" which no longer fit into the new surroundings, and they are all to be pulled down and the material used for building huts for the "New" Peasants. As already pointed out, the material originally intended for this purpose was all seized by the Russian occupation authorities. The "model" States, Saxony and Mecklenburg, have taken the lead in this new cultural performance. In order to destroy the last remnant of the old division of the land, all the registers of landed property are to be destroyed.

Owing to the effects of the war which had just come to an end with the collapse of Germany, the harvest in 1945 was poor, but in 1946, owing to the crippling effects of bolshevist strait-jacket planning, it was even worse. Compared with 100 per cent in 1938, the average yields for grain were 56·8, for potatoes 66·3, for sugar-beet 56·2, and for colza only 23·4. The average rate of production per hectare is even worse: rye 11·6 double cwt., compared with 21; wheat 16, compared with 30·7; barley 14·3, compared with 28·9; and potatoes 120·4, compared with 163·2. The decline is not even approximately as bad in any of the other zones. Out of 700,000 peasant holdings in the Eastern Zone, over 200,000 were unable to fulfil their delivery quotas.

The exceptionally hard winter of 1946–47, followed by the prolonged drought in the summer of 1947, made things worse. A conference of Mayors and Landraete reported that seed for summer wheat and seed-potatoes were acutely short in almost all districts. In the following autumn many peasants were compelled to surrender seed and seed-potatoes to make up their delivery quotas. They were promised deliveries of new seed, but the promise was not kept. Instead the S.M.A. proposed that ordinary potatoes should be cut into three parts and sown instead of seed potatoes. The manure and fertilizers promised by the S.M.A. also failed to materialize. Similarly, most of the agricultural machinery, tractors, etc., are lying idle because the petrol promised by the S.M.A. was never delivered.

Some damage was done by the hard winter and the frost in 1946–47, but in the opinion of the President of the Central Administration for Agriculture and Forestry, an old Communist named Hoernle, who has some knowledge of agriculture, this need not have resulted in the almost complete absence of seed. In his opinion the chief blame lay at the door of "wrong measures taken by local and regional authorities"; the arbitrary putting forward of delivery dates, neglect in storage and failure to protect the products delivered; the mixing up of summer and winter wheat; the mixing of high-quality seed-grain with average-quality commercial grain; extensive losses as a result of excessive haste in the threshing, etc. All this was, of course, the inevitable result of raining down "orders" on the peasants, and of preferring the appearance of "record performances" to solid, but less spectacular, successes. In Hoernle's opinion the damage done to the potato crop by the frost would have been very much less if the authorities had not insisted on deliveries to centralized storage points, where too large quantities were piled up.

Hoernle, who knows what he is talking about, writes in *Der freie*

Bauer (*The Free Peasant*) that compulsion must be avoided as far as possible in dealing with agricultural matters, because the peasant is not a machine, and due consideration must be shown for the fact that when harvesting comes round he has a multiplicity of tasks to perform in a short space of time. Unnecessary compulsion then can only result in a deterioration of the produce he delivers and in a lack of proper preparation for the subsequent harvest. Of course, what Hoernle says hits the nail on the head, but then he goes on to write about "individual bureaucrats and secret militarists who still sit in the offices of our democratic administration and order people around instead of showing them a good example and working with the method of voluntary agreement". Naturally, as a good Communist, he cannot expose the real cause of the trouble: it lies not in the evil operations of "individual bureaucrats", but in the whole brutal and ruthless system introduced by his Russian masters.

Scapegoats

The local and regional authorities, both German and Russian, who might have learned from past errors with Hoernle's advice, were, however, far less interested in doing that than in finding scapegoats for their own failings. When the delivery quotas were not fulfilled on December 3rd—the final date fixed for Thuringia—the district Kommandantura ordered "operative measures", which meant a general attack on the unfortunate peasants. Innumerable peasants had to give up everything they had to meet the ruthless demands for deliveries, and even then they were not always successful, and a score or so of "the worst cases" were picked out as "examples". These peasants were hauled before courts of summary jurisdiction and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

However, this only made matters worse, and things got to such a pitch that the S.M.A. tried to rid itself of its responsibility by declaring in an official announcement at the beginning of 1947 that "German administrative bodies" had "on their own responsibility" put forward delivery dates and then brought peasants to trial who had failed to deliver in time. The German authorities were responsible for the trouble, not the S.M.A., and not its local commanders! In the end the S.M.A. decreased the delivery quotas a little, but those peasants who had already delivered got nothing back.

When deliveries fail, or if some other order is not complied with to the letter in the prescribed time, the local Mayor is often arrested. In the Bautzen district, for instance, a whole series of Mayors were suddenly arrested and taken away. They were allowed to take only one blanket each with them.

In an attempt to whitewash the Russian occupation authorities, who are, of course, always innocent of all responsibility when anything goes wrong, some German courts conduct themselves in a shameful fashion, as the following examples illustrate.

One evening in November, at about six o'clock a knock came at the door of a dairy. The dairy stands near a cross roads, and as the owner was used to people coming to inquire their way, he thought this was probably another inquiry, so he opened the door. A "man in Russian uniform"—not a Russian soldier, of course; it never is!—burst in, seized a large parcel of butter lying with others on the bench and ran off, despite the efforts of the owner to recover the butter. The German judge, under pressure from the Russian occupation authorities, gave the following judgment: by opening the door of the dairy at that time in the evening the owner was guilty of contributory negligence. Sentence: a fine of 300 marks. Delivered under the seal of the Parchim Court. However, this was just a little too much for the Court of Appeal in Schwerin to stomach, and the accused was acquitted.

A farmer who was compelled at the point of the revolver to hand over ten pounds of butter to "men in Russian officers' uniform" was sentenced to five years imprisonment by the Schoenberg Court. He, too, was fortunate enough to find understanding judges at the Court of Appeal, and he was acquitted "because, despite former membership of the Nazi Party, he had an excellent reputation and had always fulfilled his delivery obligations". Even so, the reason for the acquittal arouses misgiving as being totally irrelevant. Supposing the man had not enjoyed such a good reputation, and supposing like many another honest man he had not always found it possible to fulfil his delivery obligations, what would have happened to him then? Presumably he would have served his five years as a "wrecker". Justice in the Eastern Zone is a very fickle jade.

However, there is system in the insanity of the Russians. An order issued by the Chief of the Central Soviet Military Authority, Marshal Sokolovski, on May 27th, 1946, concerning the delivery of meat and meat products, mentioned the names of many German officials and ordered their dismissal and their trial for dereliction of duty on the ground that they had all tolerated infringements of the delivery obligations. The inquiries which were thereupon instituted showed that none of these officials had been guilty of any dereliction of duty. All any of them had been guilty of was taking objective circumstances into consideration in the cases of non-delivery brought to their notice. No one ever dares to approach the Russians with any such objections, and the result is that German courts often pronounce heavy sentences in defiance of the evidence. Explanations

involving machinery breakdowns, the loss of horses, drought, hail, floods, constant rain, excessive frosts, the lack of manure, damage done by foxes, etc., inferior seed and so on, are often rejected out of hand or not given sufficient weight in the deliberations of the court, if such they can be called.

According to a report of the Central Secretariat of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association of July 26th, 1946, peasants are often punished for not fulfilling their dairy delivery quotas, without the slightest consideration being shown to the objective facts. As a result, the report continues, much anxiety is being caused amongst small peasants and settlers. This puts it mildly. The truth is that the peasants have already lost whatever confidence they might have had in the new regime in the beginning, and this applies just as much to the "New" peasants as to the "Old". They feel themselves the helpless victims of a purely arbitrary and unjust system, and they have lost all hope. In consequence it often happens that "New" peasants who have found it impossible to fulfil the delivery quotas imposed on them just pack up their few belongings and move on, abandoning the land allotted to them under the "Land Reform" scheme. In the Grimmen district (Mecklenburg), where 1,000 "New" peasants do not own a single cow between them, there are 110 parcels of land going begging, and not a soul will take them. This is by no means an isolated instance, and similar reports are coming in from all parts. The Oderburch, which was flooded heavily in the spring of 1947, is practically deserted. Forty-five thousand hectares of fruitful land are lying idle.

About half the new settlers around the industrial complexes are semi-invalids pensioned off from factories and mines who previously earned a little supplement to their pensions by working on the land. Now they are on their own they find it impossible to do what is expected of them. On such small parcels of land even skilled land-workers do not find it easy to meet their delivery quotas. The "Old" peasants also generally find it impossible to meet the excessive demands made on them at the orders of the Russians. The acute lack of manure and fertilizers has caused the land to go sour, and this has reduced the harvest yields by about a fifth. Machinery is lacking; no spare parts are to be had for such machinery as is still available; whilst the lack of draught horses for working heavy land makes it impossible to till many of the fields. Thanks to the ruthless system of compulsory deliveries, many milch-cows have had to be surrendered, with the result that herds are dwindling, and in consequence milk production is falling rapidly.

Things are made worse by the sowings plan, which frequently ignores the question of soil quality in the growing of the various

crops. For instance, peasants are often ordered to sow beet on land which is too light for it, whilst crops which require light soil have to be sown on heavy soils, and so on. The peasant must do as he is told even when he knows perfectly well that on his soil he cannot possibly get a good crop of whatever it is he is instructed to sow. He has no right to use his own discretion or make any alteration whatever to the sowings plan imposed on him from above. On the other hand, such minor details as unsuitable soil are not taken into consideration at the end of the year, when, as the result of an inevitably poor crop, he is unable to meet his delivery quota. For fear of punishment, peasants are compelled to dig deep into their original substance, irrespective of what must happen the following year. The result is that there is widespread embitterment and indifference throughout the rural areas in the Eastern Zone. The peasants have no incentive to do their best, and if they can scrape through somehow they do; for the rest, they have lost all interest.

When unforeseen calamities occur, such as floods, damage by foxes or game, or damage by troops, then the situation of the peasantry is hopeless. In May 1946 Varnsted and the neighbourhood suffered from a severe hailstorm, which flattened all the growing crops, and a great part of the harvest was ruined. Nevertheless, the Russian Kommandantur in Querfurt refused to hear anything about the hail disaster, and demanded a 100 per cent fulfilment of all delivery obligations. Naturally, the peasants were unable to deliver, and the Russian Commandant then made them all sign an undertaking to deliver in full by December 1st. Although the peasants knew that this, too, was impossible, they also knew that warrants for their arrest were already lying in readiness in the local police-station, so they signed. They sacrificed everything they had, including their seed for the next harvest, and managed to bring the deliveries up to 97 per cent of the plan. For their own use they had nothing left, and no fodder for their cattle; and, as peasants have no food-cards, they literally faced starvation.

According to an order of the Central Soviet Military Authority, all peasants farming more than two acres of land are self-suppliers. This means that the small-holders must beg, steal or go hungry; for they get no meat, no fats, no jam—in fact, nothing at all except sugar and soap-powder. All efforts to introduce a more equitable arrangement have failed up to the present.

Trading With Food

What happens to the agricultural products which the occupation authorities are so anxious to collect in their entirety? The population of the Eastern Zone certainly do not get them, for their rations are

reduced to a bare minimum of the requirements of life, and even then their ration quotas are often honoured only after great delay. Nobody is put in prison for that, incidentally. Further, the Western Zone does not get anything like what it is entitled to by the agreement between the Four Powers. The army of occupation and the whole train of civilian officials with their families all "live on the land", and live very well indeed. That is where some of it goes. An unreasonably high proportion of the potato crop goes to the distilleries, including many potatoes suitable for human consumption. These potatoes are used not only for the production of industrial alcohol but also, and largely, for the production of schnapps.

All in all, the produce of the fields does not benefit the people of the Eastern Zone, who live permanently on the starvation line. In consequence the standard of public health is steadily declining. From the neighbourhood of Halle it is reported that the occupation authorities requisition all butter they can lay their hands on, far in excess of the requirements of the troops, so that much of it is stored until it goes rancid. When this was pointed out to a Russian Major, with the suggestion that the surplus should be given back for the use of the civilian population, he replied: "Nothing of the sort. If the butter goes rancid it can always be used to dubbin boots." Near Heilsdorf, in fact, large quantities of surplus butter seized by the occupation authorities is manufactured into soap for the Red Army. In the eyes of the Russians the civilian population of the Eastern Zone is still far too well off, and the Russian Commandant of Plauen told a deputation that as long as German children had boots on their feet, and not rags, like the children of the Soviet Union, they still had nothing to complain of.

The Russians can afford to talk like that, but of course their tools in the "Unity" Party have got to make some sort of case to canvass the support of the civilian population. They explain the shortages by "sabotage". "Unity" Party representatives control all governments in the Eastern Zone, and they are threatening "more severe measures against sabotage". Hoecker, Prime Minister of Mecklenburg, declared recently that the control machinery must be tightened up in order to deal more efficiently with wreckers in the ranks of the peasantry; peasants who "sabotaged" the food-supply plans of the Government must be deprived of their farms and severely punished. The Prime Minister of Brandenburg, Dr. Steinhoff, blows into the same horn, and announces that he has instructed his Minister of Justice to deal with charges against wreckers in summary jurisdiction and to impose heavy sentences.

The "Unity" Party organ *Maerkische Volkestimme* observes pointedly: "The thousands of Berlin hoarders introduce degeneration and

poisonous morals". The Berlin chink in the Iron Curtain is at fault. They are determined to stop it up if they can, for through that chink prying eyes can see a good deal more than the bolshevist wire-pullers want anyone to see.

Many goods-trains filled with food for Russia are camouflaged as UNRRA transports via Czechoslovakia. Sixty thousand cwts. of potatoes stored at the malt factory in Nieder-Sedlitz were sent to Russia in this way in May 1947. But the swindle operates the other way round, too. For instance, at the Erfurt yards a worker engaged in loading trucks dropped a wallet containing all his identity papers in a goods-wagon. When he went to look for it the wagon was already sealed. As papers are the be-all and end-all of life in the Eastern Zone, as in any dictatorship, where papers count more than human beings, he boarded the train and went with it to Berlin, where he again attempted to recover his wallet. On informing the officials in Berlin of what had happened he was told he was dreaming: "Those wagons have come straight from the Ukraine with wheat." Similar cases are reported from Plauen of goods-trucks loaded with local supplies setting off for Berlin with notices on the sides "Ukrainian wheat" "Gift from the Soviet Union".

CHAPTER X

MURDER—RAPE—ROBBERY—KIDNAPPING

ALL WAR has a brutalizing and uncivilizing effect on human morals. Years of constant bloodshed and constant propaganda make men indifferent to human life and savage in their desire for revenge on those they have been taught to hate. Small wonder that when the opportunity arrives all the worst instincts of man come to the top and the weaker and the defenceless have to suffer. A certain amount of licence is always to be expected of armed soldiery in a foreign country, where they are masters of life and death over the civilian population, and it is the same everywhere. Isolated atrocities and offences must not be generalized, provided always that those in authority condemn and punish them as they deserve, and whole armies must not be made responsible for the individual savagery of some of their number.

But it is a totally different matter when war crimes and crimes against humanity occur not as isolated atrocities but on a mass scale which makes it clear that they are, if not systematically encouraged from above, then most certainly deliberately tolerated. This was true of Hitler's S.S. Detachments, as the world has every reason to know, but conditions in the Eastern Zone under Russian dominance raise the question of whether the same thing is not true of the Red Army.

"*The Women Suffered Most*"

There are two mass phenomena in the Eastern Zone—rape and robbery with violence.

When the Red Army first penetrated into German territory the news soon spread of the monstrous atrocities committed against the civilian population, many of whom had stayed behind relying on the assurances of the Russian commanders that they would be treated humanely by the Russian forces. The crimes began in East Prussia long before the Red Army reached Germany proper. Let us read a few reports out of a mass of independently written accounts:

> "The Russians took the last part of Koenigsberg on April 10th, 1945. They drove us out of such air-raid cellars as were still intact and took away everything we had saved from our burning

homes. Then we were driven off by forced marches. The ordinary soldiers obviously had complete liberty to do what they liked with us, and they made ruthless use of it. Not only watches and pieces of jewellery, but even articles of clothing, including boots and shoes, were torn off our bodies. . . . The women suffered most. They were raped, often successively, by officers and men, sometimes before the eyes of their children and their menfolk, on dead horses by the wayside, on tanks—anywhere, in fact. From eight-year-old children to grey-haired women, not a female was spared. Some women were raped by ten and twenty Russians.

"After we had been driven around for ten days we were finally herded like cattle into the half-dilapidated garages of the Wrangel Barracks in Rothenheim, where we had to stand, sit or lie on the concrete floors. From time to time individuals were singled out for no apparent reason and taken off to be questioned. They were brutally beaten with rubber truncheons, rifle-butts and anything that came to hand until, half mad with pain, they admitted being members of the Nazi party. Whoever refused at first to admit membership was maltreated day after day until he finally admitted anything they accused him of. A certain Herr Spicker, a Jew, who had been compelled to wear the Star of David under the Hitler regime, was one of those beaten into insensibility because he refused to admit that he had ever been a Nazi. It did not matter whether a man had really been a Nazi or not; they were all brutally beaten."

Private houses in Koenigsberg were systematically plundered and furniture was carted off by the wagon-load. Anything that was, or appeared to be, of value, including even the group in front of the courts representing fighting bison, was taken away. Human beings were also carried off in masses, men, women and children.

A saw-mill worker named Hermann Matkovski, a former Communist who had been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment under the Hitler regime, was appointed Mayor of the Ponarth district by the Russians. He writes:

"In May 1945 more that 15,000 persons lost their lives in Koenigsberg prison; some just disappeared without trace, others were killed by a bullet at the base of the skull, and others died of typhus and other diseases. On June 20th, 1945, we Mayors had to be present at a mass execution when over 1,000 people were executed by the guillotine. At the end of May the Russian Commandant confiscated everything in the nature of food that could be found. At the end of June hunger typhus was brought in from Labiau. Since then there has been an average of 300

self violated by the men. The wife of the Vice-President of the Central Legal Administration in Berlin, Dr. Melsheimer, escaped violation only by reason of the fact that at the time she was in her menstruation period. After telling the story Melsheimer added: "But that does not shake my loyalty to the occupation authorities."

The wholesale raping of women by Red soldiers in the Eastern Zone caused the authorities to decide that in cases of pregnancy resulting from rape the women should be permitted expert facilities for abortion in public hospitals. Some indication of the scale on which women were misused by Russian violence can be seen from the fact that in Torgau, in Saxony, 230 such operations were performed "for ethical considerations", and 150 in Schoenberg, in Mecklenburg, and, of course, countless others throughout the zone. Torgau and Schoenberg were occupied without resistance and not captured after bitter fighting.

The extent of the horror which has come upon defenceless women and girls can be seen from a report of the Caritas League in Berlin dated October 28th, 1945, concerning the camp for displaced persons in Ruedersdorf. At that time there were 1,600 girls in this camp who had been carried off from East Prussia. More than half of them died whilst in the camp. A great number had to be sent off to hospital at once, where many of them died. Consumption and venereal disease took a heavy toll of these girls. Only 4 per cent of them still experienced menstruation periods. Their average age was nineteen years and seven months, and they were all under-nourished and under weight. Sixty per cent of them were peasant girls and 24 per cent from urban working-class families. Most of these girls had been raped by Russian soldiers; 20 per cent of them had been raped at least ten times, and 4 per cent had been raped repeatedly and on scores of occasions.

In the first period of the occupation rape and robbery occurred on a mass scale, but even later on, when things had calmed down, they were by no means exceptional. In the neighbourhood of military camps and air-fields they are still mass phenomena. In Zwickau, for instance, where Russian penal companies were quartered, there were 497 reported cases of robbery with violence "by men in Russian uniform", some committed on the streets and others in houses. The local inhabitants avoid being on the streets after dark as far as possible. Such cases of highway robbery with violence take place even in the heart of the town. Similar reports come in from the surrounding districts. In many cases the victims were robbed not only of what valuables or cash they had on them, but also of their clothing.

The Victims are Threatened

The penal companies stationed in Zwickau were also responsible for innumerable cases of rape. Similar conditions prevailed at one time or other throughout the Eastern Zone. Details of such offences against women are known to me on sound evidence from Kottbus, Luebben in the Spreewald, Teltow, Velten, Vehlefanz, Senftenberg, Chemnitz, Plauen, Gera, Weimar, Weissenfels, Merseburg, Dessau, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Stendal, Salzwedel, Gardelegen, Tangermunde, Wittenberge, Hagenow, Ludwigslust, Guestrow, Rostock, Greifswald and Stralsund.

The minutes of a conference of German local officials in a district which cannot be mentioned because it would endanger the Landrat involved, record a statement by the Landrat that after going to the hospital to visit an eleven-year-old girl who had been raped by Russian soldiers, he went to the Russian Kommandantur to report the case:

> "We have personally reported each such case to the Russian military authorities, but up to the moment nothing whatever has been done. They have already grown callous towards such reports. But is it too much to ask that after ten months of Russian occupation the Russian military authorities should take some measures to protect our womenfolk? The situation is terrible. We must energetically demand that the Kommandantur should take measures against the criminals."

A Police Captain reported that at a district conference of local officials in Magdeburg at which Russian officers were present, a Russian Colonel had charged the German police with incompetence because there were no fewer than ninety cases which had not been cleared up. He had mentioned in particular numerous cases in the neighbourhood of a Russian military training-ground. In answer to his attack the German authorities had pointed out that the offences had been committed by members of the Russian Army and that the German police had no power to proceed against them, as they were subject only to Russian authority.

Very many cases of rape are never publicly known because the victims are ashamed to report them; and even if such crimes are reported, the women can naturally not say who the criminals were. The Russian Military Authorities usually make this inability of the women to identify their violators an excuse for doing nothing. And when women do show courage enough to come forward, insult is often added to their injury, as in the case of a nineteen-year-old girl of unblemished reputation employed by the local authorities in Plauen. She was seized on the street at the point of the revolver by

Russian officers, dragged into a near-by courtyard and violated. When she reported the case she was dismissed from her position at the orders of the Soviet Military Authority for having "slandered the Red Army".

The number of cases which are substantiated by detailed evidence is endless. In Halle, for instance, a car containing four Russian officers stopped in the street and two of the officers got out and accosted a young girl, whom they invited to go with them. When she refused they seized her, bundled her into the car by force and drove off. The incident was witnessed by other people, who did not dare to interfere with armed Russians.

On May 8th, 1947, a war widow and her young daughter were on the station platform at Rangsdorf, in the neighbourhood of Berlin. Two Russian soldiers began to pester the girl, who ran away. In flight she fell and hurt her knee. The two Russians caught her and dragged her off into the near-by woods, where they both raped her. A police patrol who arrived and searched the neighbourhood were unable to find her, but the next morning she returned in a distressed and dishevelled condition, and said that the Russians had gagged her to prevent her crying out.

An officer known as Sascha was a particular scourge in the district. On one occasion he raped a seventeen-year-old girl and infected her with venereal disease. On another occasion, when drunk, he destroyed fittings in a public-house he visited. In his case action was taken, and his Commandant ripped off his epaulettes and placed him under arrest.

A few days later, on May 17th, a twenty-year-old girl escorted by a young man was on her way to the railway station at Rangsdorf, going home from a dance, when they were accosted by two Russian soldiers on the pretext of examining their papers. The young man was driven off at the point of the revolver and the girl dragged into the fields. Fortunately the young man managed to find a police patrol, and they ran to the scene in time to save the girl from violation. At the sight of the approaching policemen the two Russians took to flight.

On the platform of the railway station at Gardelegen, a district which has suffered severely from the excesses of Russian soldiery, a woman was attacked by a Russian. To escape she fled into a compartment of a waiting train, but that did not save her, for the brute jumped in after her, caught her, tore off her clothing and raped her in broad daylight.

In January 1947 an official of the Plauen Court was walking with his fiancée near the main railway station at about eight o'clock in the evening when they were stopped by two Red soldiers. Threatened

with a revolver, the man was forced to take off his clothing, although the weather was bitterly cold. His fiancée was violated by the two men before his eyes, and they then made off with his clothing.

In Nauendorf, near Plauen, a peasant who tried to protect his daughter from rape was shot dead before her eyes, and the girl was then raped by Russian soldiers by the side of her father's dead body.

In Nauen, to the north-west of Berlin, Russian officers repeatedly stopped girls and young women on the streets and invited them to come with them. Women who refused were arrested, and violated whilst in custody.

In March 1947 a woman was seized in the centre of the town of Muehlhausen, in Thuringia, by armed Russians, dragged into the courtyard of a house and raped. In the first week of April in the same town there were two cases in which young women were raped and murdered by uniformed savages.

Many cases of rape occurred in the autumn of 1946 in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg. In one case a Russian officer broke into the house of a married woman named Irmgard D. in Beetsen, Siedlungsstrasse no. 8, on October 16th, 1946, and violated her.

On November 6th, the eve of the Russian Revolution celebrations, when vodka flows like water, two Russian officers seized an eleven-year-old girl named Hannelora A. near the village of Boeckwitz, dragged her into the fields and violated her.

On November 29th a married woman named Margarete W. was raped in the home of her parents in Heeren by men in Russian uniform who broke into the house.

Women have often been violated on official Russian premises—for instance, in the rooms of the Kommandantur in Weissenfels, to which women have been brought "for questioning" after being seized on the streets, only to be violated by Russian officers. The atmosphere of this particular Kommandantur can be judged from the fact that even a woman employed there for cleaning purposes was raped.

Many cases of rape and assault have taken place on trains. In the express train from Warnemuende to Dresden an eighteen-year-old girl named Lisa G., of Reichenbach, Untere Lindenstrasse No. 3, was raped by a Russian Captain and then flung out of the moving train. Her corpse was found on the line near Nienburg, not far from Halle. Near Gross-Borbetha two women in a train saved themselves from rape only by jumping out of their carriage. They were picked up on the line with serious injuries.

On January 25th, 1947, two Russian officers, both drunk, forced their way into the Cafe Oase in Frankfurt-on-Oder after closing time. Only two women were still on the premises, the proprietress,

who managed to escape through the rear entrance, and a waitress, who was seized and violated by both men.

Outbursts of plundering and rape on a mass scale still occur when Russian units are leaving for home. One such outburst took place in Guben when soldiers assembled at the station for entraining broke away and forced their way into houses in the neighbourhood, stealing everything they could lay hands on and raping all the women they came across. The savages were heavily armed, and the German police who were summoned to the spot could do nothing against the tommy-guns of the rioting horde.

Pregnancy and venereal disease are frequent consequences of rape by the Russians. When Polit-Officer Schukol was at last recalled from Grimmen for his scandalous behaviour, it was discovered that he had run up debts of no less than 40,000 marks and had infected no fewer than twenty-four women with venereal disease. But the criminals are innocent; it is their victims who are guilty. Berlin women and girls who had been raped were ordered to be examined for venereal disease on the ground that they had infected the Russians.

The sexual beastliness of the Russian soldiery leaves a train of misery and tragedy in its wake. Many women, some of whom were raped in front of their children, have committed suicide. One of these women who killed herself left a note behind in which she wrote: "I can no longer look my children in the eyes after what has happened to me".

Many of these tragedies are subsequently brought to light in the courts. On March 28th, 1946, in the village of Stroebitz, near Kottbus, a twenty-year-old girl named Angela B. was overtaken whilst going home from the cinema by three Russians, who at first pretended to ask her the way, but then seized and raped her. Later she noticed that she was pregnant. Although abortion in such cases is officially permitted, a medical examination proved that it could not be undertaken without danger to her life. The girl, who had been very strictly brought up, was afraid to confide in her parents, and when the child was born she was in such desperation that she strangled it with a handkerchief and subsequently appeared in court on a charge of infanticide.

Another case was that of a thirty-year-old married woman from the Sudete district, named Berta B. At the end of May she was violated by several Russian liberators in her old home and then expelled together with the other German inhabitants of the Sudete districts. Owing to her deportation and the long period during which she was under way as a displaced person, she was prevented from applying for an official abortion in time. She then attempted

to abort herself in the sixth month, but unsuccessfully. In March 1946 a child was born as the result of her violation. Not surprisingly, she felt no love for it, and in particular she feared that when her husband returned from a prisoner-of-war camp in England the presence of this fourth child—she already had three children—would lead to complications and ruin her marriage. After much trouble she succeeded in getting the child adopted, but when the adoptive parents learned that the child was the fruit of Russian rape, they returned it to her. In her despair she drowned it the same day in a bath-tub. As evidence was given in court to the effect that she enjoyed an unblemished reputation, was honest and industrious, and a good and loving mother to her own children, the judge showed mercy, and sentenced her only to six months imprisonment, with a strong recommendation to the higher authorities for a pardon.

"Capitalists" are Fair Game

When the Russian troops first penetrated into East Prussia the Soviet Press published photographs of large notices which the Russian military authorities had caused to be put up on the frontier: "Here begins accursed Germany!" Every Order of the Day issued by the "Father of the Peoples", Stalin, to celebrate a Russian victory always ended with an exhortation to wreak merciless vengeance on the German "barbarians". The newspapers printed for the Russian soldiers at the front always devoted a very great part of their space to descriptions of atrocities committed by the German troops—invariably by Nazi S.S. detachments. In this way the Red soldiers were whipped up into a fury against Germany and everything German.

Having regard to this deliberate and systematic propaganda, it is not surprising that when once the Red Army got into German territory the civilian population suffered terribly. Added to this special anti-German propaganda there is the ingrained hatred of everything "capitalist". However, the ordinary Russian soldiers—and very often their officers—are totally incapable of distinguishing "capitalists" from simple workers and peasants. For them everybody who enjoys a higher standard than their own is a "capitalist", and as their own standards of living are so low that they can be matched nowhere in Germany, everyone they meet is "a capitalist", and a proper victim for their resentment. The simplest working-class household in Germany is a palace compared with the huts and slums from which these Red Army men come. A "capitalist" is anyone who has more than a single room for himself and his family; anyone who possesses a sofa, a wall clock, a wireless set or a bicycle. And anyone who occupies a whole house—as quite humble people

often do, particularly in the rural areas—is a "big capitalist". It is pitiful, but true and tragic. Eye-witnesses have told me that even higher Russian officers who have come into working-class homes have been convinced only with difficulty that the occupiers were not "capitalists".

At the same time the Russians have an incentive to regard everyone as "capitalists", because "a capitalist" deserves no mercy, and it is a virtuous Communist act to deprive him of his property, and even of his life. The great mass of the Russian soldiery see nothing reprehensible in stealing the property of "a capitalist". Thus whilst the Soviet State officially seizes everything valuable on which it can lay hands, public and private property included, its rank and file also seize anything they can find. As the Red Army "lives on the land", the ordinary soldier, who usually has only the vaguest idea of right and wrong, sees nothing objectionable in going into a shop and taking what he wants without payment. When new Russian troops come into a district they are usually very poorly provided for, and their arrival is the signal for a mass orgy of plundering until they have acquired what they need. Complaints to the Russian Kommandantura are invariably in vain. "All the Germans possess is a gift from the Soviet Union," was the reply of one commanding officer to a complaint.

Russian soldiers lord it wherever they go. On the trains they have their own compartments, but they often undertake raids into the compartments occupied by ordinary travellers, going through their baggage and stealing whatever they please. Anyone who protests, or even resists, is a "Fascist", and a "Fascist" is anyone who protests or resists, so what with "capitalists" and "Fascists" everywhere the thing is made very simple. Those who resist do so at the risk of their lives. In the express train from Berlin to Halberstadt two men attempted to prevent Russian soldiers from ransacking their baggage. One of them was a Dane named Karl Petersen, who lived in Magdeburg, Croquistrasse No. 18. Possibly, as a neutral citizen, he thought he need not submit to the Russian exactions. But both he and his companion were brutally beaten and flung out of the train. Petersen had to have both his legs amputated and died in Genthin Hospital. His companion escaped with the loss of a hand.

On January 16th, 1946, Russian soldiers robbed a man of a bag on the Berlin urban railway and knocked him unconscious. At the same time they robbed a woman of her coat and stole another man's watch.

On the same day the express train from Berlin to Magdeburg was robbed three times by "men in Russian uniform". The first raid took place near Brandenburg, and the second near Burg. In the

railway station of Burg itself the train was invaded by Russian soldiers—on this occasion there was no question that they were really Russian soldiers, for there was about a company of them—who seized everything which had been overlooked by their colleagues in the previous raids, even down to the clothing and shoes of the travellers. After they had disappeared, a completely naked child was discovered in one of the carriages, who did not know where its parents were. In order not to risk being flung out of the train in the end, most of the passengers interrupted their adventurous journey in Genthin.

In the night of November 25th to 26th the express train from Berlin to Magdeburg was again plundered by Russians, who ransacked the baggage and pockets of the travellers and then pulled the communication cord and disappeared into the night.

In Magdeburg, Russian soldiers, often drunk, come into the waiting-rooms, pester women, rob passengers, roughly push them off the benches, and then lie down to sleep off their liquor. At the end of April Russian soldiers about to be entrained for home at Magdeburg railway station broke loose, robbed everyone within sight and shot two men dead who had attempted to resist. This sort of plundering by troops who are being sent home is a frequent happening. Every Russian soldier going home to the Soviet paradise wants to take as much as he possibly can with him. If he has not enough money to buy what he wants, he forages round until he sees what he wants, and then steals it. Just after Christmas 1946 Russian troops entrained and waiting on the lines in the sidings of Frankfort-on-Oder broke loose and plundered the neighbourhood. The men were heavily armed, and took no notice when Russian Commandos arrived and called upon them to return to their train. Heavy firing broke out, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Petukov, the Russian Second in Command at Frankfort-on-Oder, was wounded. In the end the riot and mutiny was suppressed, and thirty-eight of the looters were executed on the spot. But such raids, if not often on such a scale and with such violence, still take place, while individual attacks and robberies have never ceased. The period when one Russian unit is sent home and another takes its place, is one of lawless violence, in which a man's life or a woman's integrity is almost worthless.

A sixty-eight-year-old woman named Frau St. was robbed of her handbag and coat by two Russian soldiers; when she screamed for help she was felled to the ground and killed. In Juterbog a woman far advanced in pregnancy who protested against Russian soldiers ransacking her baggage was brutally pushed down and kicked. When other passengers came to her assistance they were held in

check at the point of the revolver. The Russians then seized various cases and disappeared. German railway officials were threatened with revolvers. A Russian officer was a passive witness of the whole incident. When a Russian patrol finally appeared all they did was to examine the papers of everyone present and then lead off a number of people whose papers were allegedly not in order.

In May 1946 a Russian armoured column halted in Stendal. Whilst they were there they cordoned off a street and systematically plundered all the houses, violating all the women met with. In November 1946 the little town of Kledden suffered a similar outrage when Russian troops on their way back to the Soviet Union plundered the place and raped the women. Two German policemen who tried to interfere were immediately shot dead.

Marauding Bands

Many Red soldiers do not care for the idea of returning to the paradise from which they have come, and when the time arrives for their units to return they desert. Capitalist Germany suits them much better. Desertions of this nature have developed into a mass phenomenon, and the number of Russian deserters is very high. In order to keep at liberty, they need civilian clothes, and this explains why there are so many cases of highway robbery during which the victims are robbed of their clothing. As deserters have no papers, cannot register themselves with the authorities, and therefore cannot obtain work or ration cards, they, like their official colleagues, have to live off the land. In this way they get more and more involved in criminal offences. They plunder the countryside in bands, often in league with German criminal elements, and their presence has become a new scourge of the Russian occupation.

Reports from the Altmark show that the neighbourhood there suffers in particular. Raids are sometimes carried out on a mass scale. For instance, in broad daylight a large body of such bandits raided and plundered the village of Gehrendorf, near Oebisfelde. Whilst some held up the men at the point of their tommy-guns, others led the cattle out of the stalls and slaughtered them on the spot, whilst still others plundered the houses. These bands are, of course, always armed, and they do not hesitate to use their weapons, and men who resist their depredations are shot out of hand.

Reports of many such cases are contained in the records of the Provincial Court Halle-Merseburg, which I have had the opportunity of examining. In some cases uniformed Russian officers have taken part in them. In the towns the bands break into houses and steal, and in the country they rob whole villages. As they are

heavily armed they meet with no resistance. Even the most courageous man is unwilling to throw his life away to no purpose.

These bandit raids are only one side of the problem of armed lawlessness which has arisen with the Russian occupation, and it is aggravated by the fact that the German authorities and the German police can do nothing when they suspect that Russian soldiers are involved. Bandit raids on a big scale are more spectacular, but the operations of individual Russians, particularly drunken officers, are no less serious.

A drunken Russian officer came into the offices of the local authorities in Wensichblome (Salzwedel district) flourishing his revolver, threatening the employees and confiscating their identity papers. Two farmers, P. and H., were attacked and robbed in their own homes. In the spring of 1947 no fewer than seventy pigs were stolen at various times by Russian soldiers, in the one small community of Hohenhenningen.

A report of the Landrat of the Stendal district to the President of the Provincial Government in Halle reads:

> "Only two days ago I had the sad duty of informing you that Mayor Albert Mueller had been shot dead in December 3rd at two o'clock in the morning by persons in Russian uniform, and now even before his body has been buried I have to report a similar murder. On December 5th, 1946, shortly after dark, three men in Russian uniform knocked at the door of a Frau Trampe allegedly in need of water. She opened a first-floor window and apparently refused to admit them. She was shot dead at the window, and the men then smashed a window and entered the house, ransacking all the rooms, and taking away clothing, blankets, cash and valuables. In this case a thirteen-year-old schoolboy saw a Russian military lorry draw up and three soldiers get out and go towards Frau Trampe's house. He heard the shot and then ran away. This is the sixteenth murder committed by 'men in Russian uniform' in my district in the second half of 1946. Can nothing be done to put an end to this criminal lawlessness?"

Similar reports are available from all other parts of the Eastern Zone—for instance, in two small boroughs in the Magdeburg district no fewer than twenty-eight robberies, some of them hold-ups on the street and others housebreaking, were carried out by these "men in Russian uniform" within the space of four weeks in November and December 1946, and during the course of them two of the victims were killed. In one small town not far from Dresden there were seventeen such robberies with violence. Eight women were stripped of their clothing and left naked on the streets in the cold.

One of them was locked into a telephone booth, where she was found frozen to death the next morning. Another naked woman was fished out of the Elbe with a bayonet wound in her breast. In Rostock twenty such robberies with violence took place in the short period from December 5th to December 16th, and eight of the victims were killed. In Guestrow five murders were committed in one night. In Halberstadt no fewer that sixty persons had to seek medical attention because they had been attacked, robbed and injured by the usual "men in Russian uniform". In Naumburg the situation was particularly bad, and throughout the autumn of 1947 there was an average of three cases of robbery with violence a day in which lives were lost. In most cases the victims were found with their throats cut.

In November 1946, after the "unfavourable" result of the municipal elections in Plauen, Russian penal companies were sent to the town. Within a few weeks of their arrival there were no fewer than seventy-six cases of robbery with murder, and innumerable cases of robbery with violence whereby the victims at least escaped with their lives. There were also many cases of rape. The victims of these robberies were by no means all well-to-do—that is, of the formerly well-to-do classes. The plunderers did not spare working-class houses or even the quarters of displaced persons. The sister of the Mayor of Zwoeschwitz, the mother of five children, was found dead in November with her throat cut. The wife of a merchant named Sch. in Plauen was shot dead by Russians whom she had surprised robbing the house. A German policeman in Leubnitz who surprised a Russian lieutenant, a sergeant and two men engaged in robbing a farmhouse was attacked and so severely injured that for weeks his life was despaired of.

Two Russian officers entered the butcher's shop of a man named F. in Plauen, bringing a case with them, which they proceeded to fill with whatever joints they wanted. The butcher was held up at the revolver point. A taxi was taken by several uniformed Russians, and the next morning it was found with the driver still in the driving-seat, but with his throat cut and his pockets empty. Four uniformed Russians appeared in the public-house at Kunberg, near Saalfeld, and demanded schnapps. The landlord had only beer, and the Russians shot him and his wife and four children. In Jena a father and his son who offered resistance to Russians who demanded their boots were both shot dead and left in their stockinged feet on the street. A twenty-seven-year-old driver named Willi Wisnievski, who went with a Russian soldier allegedly in order to exchange his wrist-watch for three pounds of bacon, was subsequently found dead in a field in Friedrichsfelde-Ost robbed of his wrist-watch and his spare cash. A railway inspector who attempted to prevent uni-

formed Russians from stealing baggage in Stendal on May 1st, 1947, was stabbed to death. The mayor of a village in the neighbourhood of Gardelegen was shot dead by uniformed Russians who broke into his house. When neighbours hurried to the scene with the police the Russians fled.

According to a report of the Mayor of Brunkau to the Landrat in Stendal, dated November 29th, 1946, the previous night uniformed Russians had broken into and robbed the houses of eight people in his community. In Finsterwalde a man named Richt, riding home on his cycle, was shot in the stomach and killed by Russians, who made off with the cycle. The naked body of another man was found in a field. He had been robbed of everything, including his clothing, and killed by a bullet in the base of the skull.

Raped, robbed, shot, stabbed—the list is endless. Appeals to the Soviet Military Authorities are usually ignored, and even when action is taken it is not systematic. When a deputation from the "Unity" Party waited on General Dombrovski, the Russian Commander-in-Chief in Saxony, to ask him to do something to put an end to the reign of terror—which naturally does their propaganda in favour of Bolshevism rather less than no good—he showed them long lists of Russian soldiers who had, he said, been executed for such crimes. Allegedly 782 men were shot in November 1945 alone —that is to say, more or less in the worst period of the post-collapse troubles. Unfortunately the crimes are still continuing; they are organically connected with the bolshevist system in the Eastern Zone, and they cannot be cured by sudden accesses of energy.

Nothing Like it since the Thirty Years War

The cases in which people crossing the zonal frontiers are robbed and murdered are innumerable. Very often it is impossible to tell whether they were killed by German criminals or by members of the occupation forces. The number of dead bodies found on the Russian side of the western frontier in the neighbourhood of Ellrich, Luetzhayn, Bennekenstein, Oebisfelde, Ratzeburg and other places is so great and the reports of the finding of bodies so frequent that the local population has grown indifferent. Many of those people crossing the frontier who fall into Russian hands are permitted to go on after they have been robbed of their watches and anything else of value they may have on them.

Along the Polish frontier the much-tried civilian population have rather different troubles. There they are plagued by bands of robbers in league with the Russian frontier guards who cross into the district from Polish territory. They rob German farmhouses and drive off back over the Polish frontier any livestock they can find.

Resistance is broken by armed force. As a result many peasants have no draught animals left to till their land, but if nevertheless they are unable to fulfil their quotas, they run the danger of being hauled before the courts as "wreckers of the reconstruction programme".

Town and country, the railway stations, the trains themselves and the roads are all made unsafe for civilians by the indiscipline and licence of the Russian soldiery. Nothing like it has happened in Germany since the days of the Thirty Years War. So many hold-ups and robberies have taken place on the big arterial motor-roads that traffic has gone back to the second-class roads, which are invariably in a poor state of repair, so that communications are made even worse. Very often cars have been found with their occupants shot dead and stripped. Such cases have occurred on the Berlin–Kottbus motor road, on the Berlin–Leipzig road, in the neighbourhood of Dessau and in many places in Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg. The Chairman of the Berlin "Unity" Party, Hermann Matern, was almost a victim of such an attack. Ambushers opened fire on his car with a tommy-gun and riddled it with bullets. Fortunately for Hermann, the car was not hit in a vital spot and the chauffeur was able to accelerate and get away. No doubt at the end of his journey Hermann delivered his usual sycophantic speech in praise of the Soviet Union and all its works. A few weeks later, in November 1947, four well-known German sportsmen—the boxing referee Pippow, the two boxers Nuernberg of Hamburg and Baumann of Duisburg, and the trainer Mueck—went by car to a boxing tournament in Leipzig. They had hardly crossed the zonal frontier from the British into the Russian Zone when their car was held up near Marienborn by bandits in Russian uniform and they were robbed of all they possessed.

Such adventures are common on the roads in the Soviet Zone. One of the directors of the Berlin Central Legal Administration who was on his way on official business had his car stopped by a Russian in uniform armed with a tommy-gun. At first the chauffeur was unwilling to stop, but a short burst from the tommy-gun made him change his mind. This was a less serious case; all the man wanted was a lift, but he had his own way of getting it. He was probably a deserter, for he made them put him down before they arrived in Dessau, and he disappeared into the woods—without even robbing the occupants of the car. "When we arrived in Dessau", goes on the report, "we found ourselves warmly congratulated on our good fortune. Only a few days before, it appeared, a car had been held up on the same road and was found later on with its three occupants shot dead and robbed."

Ministerial Director Bauer and three other high officials of the Saxon Provincial Government had a nasty experience on November 28th, 1947. They were returning to Dresden after a conference in Berlin when their car was held up "by men with foreign accents" between Zeuthen and Koenisgwusterhausen at about seven o'clock in the evening. They were robbed of everything they possessed and left on the road, for the robbers went off in their car. Apart from a bruise or two, however, they suffered no injuries.

The Russians—even those who are not bandits—are excessively "trigger-happy", and they shoot on the least provocation or none at all. At the beginning of May 1947 five girls were rowing in a boat on the Wansee in the direction of the Griebnitzsee. From the shore a Russian patrol called out something which they did not understand, but they thought it best to turn and make for the bank, though apparently not quick enough to satisfy the Russian, who immediately opened fire, wounding one of the girls, who died the next day in the hospital of Nikolassee.

One of the main causes for the excessess constantly committed by Russian troops is alcohol. The Russians are plentifully supplied with schnapps, with the result that drunken Russians, including drunken officers, are a common sight on the streets. Their actions are incalculable even when they are sober, and when they are drunk, or even tipsy, they have no inhibitions at all. On August 3rd, 1947, a drunken Russian officer, Lieutenant Alexis Kovalov, entered the station restaurant at Wansee and began to misbehave violently, pushing and striking German guests, throwing chairs around and generally going berserk. A railway official who came up and tried to calm him was thrown on to the railway line and injured. A policeman named Bleschke who then arrived was almost throttled by the Russian, who by this time was behaving like a homicidal maniac. Bleschke drew his service revolver and shot the Russian in self-defence, seriously wounding him. He was subsequently acquitted by an American military court. But what would have happened to Bleschke if the incident had occurred in the Russian Zone? Either he would have been killed on the spot or a Russian military court would have sentenced him in camera.

If anyone thinks that this is not likely to have been the case, let him consider what happened in January 1947 in the neighbourhood of Klein Machnow to a woman omnibus conductor. A Russian officer stood on the step of her bus, which was on its way into the American Sector. As the regulations provide that the doors shall be closed before the bus starts, the girl requested the officer to get inside. He took no notice of her, and when she asked him again he punched her in the face and made her nose bleed. Beside herself

with pain, she struck back at him—only to be immediately arrested and marched off by a Russian sergeant. Nothing has been heard of her since.

Grisly Finds

Bodies are frequently being found in mysterious circumstances in the Eastern Zone, indicating that brutal crimes have been committed. Very often when such finds are made the Soviet Military Authority shows great anxiety to prevent any publicity or any official investigation into the circumstances. For instance, at the end of March 1947 labourers passing through the woods near Kottbus saw a human hand sticking out of the melting snow. The snow was cleared away to reveal the body, and several other corpses were found in the same place. Here, too, the S.M.A. intervened to prevent the German authorities from conducting inquiries.

On April 10th farm labourers found nineteen male and one female body in a ditch on the Leipzig-Dessau road. Nothing whatever was found in the clothing. According to the Police Surgeon, Dr. K., the bodies had not been in the ditch for more than three months. The cause of death in all cases was either a bullet in the nape of the skull or the beating in of the skull with some blunt instrument. No sooner had the bodies been taken to the nearest mortuary than they were seized by Lieutenant Volchov of the Dessau S.M.A. and carried away for immediate cremation. The Police Surgeon was ordered to hand over all articles of clothing and test pieces he had taken for the purposes of investigation, and to say no more about the matter, which was "now in the hands of the Russian military authorities".

Exactly the same thing happened when twenty male bodies were found at the end of July 1947 in Stubbenloechern, near Hoenow (Niederbarnim district); except that in this case the bodies had already been buried in the Hoenow cemetery when they were exhumed and taken away by the Russians. The independent Berlin Press took up the matter, but no solution of the mystery could be found. The version favoured by the "Unity" Party Press that the bodies were those of men who had died in the fighting two years previously was patently absurd, for they were not skeletons, but bodies.

Concentration Camps just the same as Hitler's

Sachsenhausen is not the only old concentration camp taken over from the Nazis by the Russians. The notorious camp in Buchenwald has also been reopened. There are other concentration camps in operation in Hohenschoenau, in Frankfort-on-Oder, in Jamlitz near Lieberose, in Forst in the Lausitz, in Torgau, in Roitsch-Bitterfeld,

in Muehlberg on the Elbe, in Bautsen, Altenhain, Stern-Buchholz, near Schwerin, and Ketschendorf, near Beeskow. The camp at Fuenfeichen, near Neubrandenburg, has been broken up and all the inmates transferred to the Soviet Union.

All these concentration camps are very large and capable of holding tens of thousands of prisoners. Prisoners do not stay in them indefinitely, and transports are constantly being organized for the transfer of inmates to the Soviet Union. The prison of Bautzen, which has been turned into a concentration camp, normally holds 2,000 prisoners. Its usual complement now is between 6,000 and 15,000. Most of these concentration camps—for instance, the one in Altenhain, which was originally intended for Russian deserters and Vlassov men—are surrounded by three security rings. The inner two are guarded by Russians; the outer ring is guarded by German police, all of whom are picked Communists. Members of the "Unity" Party do service in these camps as guards just as the members of the S.S. did formerly.

A report of an eye-witness reads:

> "One night the men were fetched by German police, accompanied by Russian soldiers. After a long period of waiting they were questioned once a fortnight. The questions did not so much concern themselves as the men with whom they had worked. Sometimes the prisoners were left standing for hours in blinding searchlights. After many months they were transferred to different concentration camps. At Christmas 1946 there were 15,000 prisoners in Buchenwald camp alone."

Just as under Hitler, everything possible is done to prevent the outside world from learning what goes on in these camps. Apart from the fact that the gas-chambers and the crematoria are not, or not yet, in operation again, everything seems to be much the same as before. In Nazi days the prohibited zone around Buchenwald was 9 kilometres deep; under the Russians it has been increased to 16 kilometres. The old torture-bunkers of the Nazis are certainly in use again, and a prisoner who managed to escape from the camp in Sachsenhausen declares:

> "In the afternoon of October 30th, 1946, two Russian officers came up to me on the corner of Unter den Linden and the Friedrichstrasse and invited me to go with them to clear up a minor point. Without suspecting that anything very serious was wrong, I went with them. I was taken in a car belonging to the N.K.V.D. to Kupfergraben, where I was accused of having spied on behalf of the American military authorities. There was

absolutely no basis for this charge, and I vigorously denied it. I was locked in a cellar and questioned for several nights in succession, during which I was held down on the floor and beaten with rubber truncheons whilst a wireless was on at full volume to drown my shouts. My head was bloody and I was unable to raise one arm. As I refused to 'confess', this went on for about a fortnight. Then I was left alone for nearly two months, during which time I was fed on watery cabbage-soup and dry bread and potatoes.

"On Sundays there were no officers in the place, and then the guards used to bring in girls and hold drinking orgies. On such occasions they would come into the cellars and beat up the prisoners with plaited flex, and threaten them with revolvers. There was no heating in the place, and most of the prisoners had no blankets. Almost all the windows had lost their glass, and it was bitterly cold. There were ordinary pails in the cellars for the prisoners to attend to the needs of nature. On many days these were not emptied at all. During the whole time I was there I was able to wash only once.

"On January 11th, 1947, I was transferred with a batch of other prisoners to Sachsenhausen by road. There were about 16,000 prisoners in this camp at that time. Some were criminal offenders, but others were political cases, or men accused of espionage like myself. The prisoners were organized into battalions under Germans, who were supported by Russian sergeants. The Commandant of the camp was Lieutenant-Colonel Rudyenko. Very little was seen of the Russians except during questioning. Those prisoners who worked had a straw sack to sleep on, but all those who were unfit for work had to sleep on plank beds without sack or mattress.

"All the prisoners were under-nourished and many of them were ill. The mortality rate was high and the burial commandos were kept busy. In the winter of 1946–7 between thirty-five and forty prisoners died every day. Certain labour columns were used for outside work—for instance, bringing in timber to heat the quarters of the N.K.V.D. men, repairing lorries, doing building jobs, and so on. On April 12th, 1947, I was a member of an outside labour gang which was sent to Gruenau on a building job. Owing to the carelessness of the guards, I succeeded in making my escape. I was so under-nourished that when I reached freedom I had to go into hospital at once. There were special punishment cells in which prisoners were kept: one day without food and the next day on half rations, and so on until they were let out again. For more serious cases there were the underground bunkers,

where prisoners were left from a week to ten days without attention of any kind and where they had to satisfy their natural needs on the floor."

Another escaped prisoner reports the following from the Neubrandenburg camp:

"After having been in the sick bay for some time with a serious illness, I asked for a 'post', in which I hoped to get a little more to eat than I had been getting. I was made an attendant in the lunatic bay, in which prisoners who had lost their reason were kept. Before long I felt my own reason failing, and sometimes I could hardly remember whether I was a patient or an attendant. One day I was marched off to the bunkers for 'infringing the camp regulations', though I don't know in what fashion I had offended. This bunker was a very small cell with a plank bed and nothing else. I was given dry bread and substitute coffee every day, and a bowl of soup every five days. Other prisoners who had offended against the regulations in some way or the other were in the other bunkers, even women and children. After ten days I was released from my bunker, more emaciated and weak than ever. In addition to these bunkers, there were the much-feared Blocks B I and B II—a sort of punishment compound surrounded by high barbed wire and always containing about 1,000 prisoners. The threat of being transferred to one or other of these punishment blocks hung constantly over all the prisoners.

"Four hundred of our prisoners were promoted to the category of 'prisoners of war'. They were then examined by G.P.U. doctors and divided into four groups. All the young men were registered as fit for work and transferred to a prisoner-of-war camp in Frankfort-on-Oder. I was in this batch, and when we arrived we were informed—almost two years after the end of the war—that our services were required as labourers in the east. Such transports arrived in Frankfort from various other camps, including Muehlberg, Oranienburg, Torgau, Bautzen, Tost, Oppeln, Graudenz and so on. All these prisoners had been arbitrarily arrested by the G.P.U. The food in Frankfort was very bad and the mortality rate high. According to what these other prisoners said, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 prisoners in these camps. In the period from May 1945 to February 1947 over 10,000 died from various causes connected with their imprisonment, including slow starvation. The worst mental suffering the prisoners have to endure is their complete isolation from the outside world. They are cut off from their relatives, families and friends, and they know absolutely nothing of what is going on elsewhere.

"In January 1947 the first transports of prisoners were organized for labour in the east. Emaciated to a skeleton, with swollen legs and a long beard, I gave my age as forty-nine, although I was only thirty. No one doubted me; I looked every year of it. I drank soapy water in order to get into the lazaret with fever, for unless you have fever you are not sick for the Russians. After a further examination I was certified for dystrophia (advanced emaciation) and listed as permanently unfit for work. On February 14th, 1947, I was finally released. Almost all those who had been in camp with me were sent off to the east to labour camps."

Another report reads:

"Shortly before Christmas we were transferred to the concentration camp in Torgau. Early in the morning we were loaded into lorries, squashed so tight that we could only just stand, and driven to the station, where we were herded into cattle-trucks—up to 100 men to a truck. We travelled all day before we finally arrived. In Torgau up to eighteen prisoners were crowded into one small room with only three plank beds. There were no straw sacks or mattresses, and not all the prisoners had blankets. Three to four stools formed the whole of the rest of the furniture. The windows were barred and painted over, and it was strictly forbidden to open them. The camp was separated from the outside world by a high wooden fence topped with barbed wire.

"Every form of intellectual occupation—reading, discussion, lectures, etc.—was strictly prohibited. The prisoners were not allowed to write or receive letters. The 'Unity' Party officials in charge of the camp administration saw to it that all the camp rules and regulations were strictly obeyed. They browbeat and bullied us and swindled us out of some of the little food we were allowed.

"No one ever told us why we were kept there. We were a mixed crowd, consisting of former Brown Shirts, minor officials of the Nazi Party, officials and members of the Social Democratic Party, and some members of the Liberal Democratic Party and of the Christian Democratic Union who had been denounced to the occupation authorities by Communists.

"Our food consisted of a thin soup twice a day; usually it was barley soup, but sometimes fish soup, which invariably stank. We would get the same soup day after day for perhaps a fortnight before there was a change. We were badly under-nourished, and the result was hunger œdema. The worst of the sick cases were sent for a few days into the lazaret, where they were given not food, but injections. No one was allowed in the lazaret for more than four days at a time. Whoever couldn't stand up after that

just had to die. Next of kin were not informed of deaths; they heard about them, if at all, only by accident, if someone they knew happened to be released. To my knowledge the only time anyone was released was when a batch of seventy-two very sick men were sent out. At Christmas 1946 the Torgau camp was closed down and the 6,000 men still in it were transferred to Buchenwald, where there were already 9,000 prisoners, mostly from Thuringia.

"Torgau was bad, but Buchenwald was worse. Conditions were even more unhealthy; the soup was still thinner and the bread ration was even smaller. There was never any meat or fat. The place was unheated during the bitter winter. We had rather more room to sleep than in Torgau, and there was a table and a number of benches in our cell, but on account of the food our condition grew rapidly worse. In January 1947 an epidemic of dysentery broke out, and hundreds of prisoners died. There were sixty prisoners in my hut, and fourteen of them died. After that the rations improved a little, but only for a while. We got rather more bread, and the soup was a bit thicker, but we still got neither meat nor fat and no fresh vegetables. Small wonder that of the batch with which I was finally released quite a number died on the way home, whilst others died a few days later. After two years in concentration camp I weighed 84 lbs., compared with over 150 when I went in. My legs were badly swollen, but the rest of my body was like a skeleton. Owing to the fact that I never had a change of underwear, and because we hardly ever saw any soap and were unable to wash properly, I contracted an obstinate eczema. Outwardly all the prisoners were ragged and emaciated; inwardly they were all exhausted and depressed."

Another prisoner who returned completely broken from a stretch in Buchenwald reports concerning the reason for his arrest:

"I never had anything to do with the Nazis. I was not even in the Army; only in the Volkesturm in the last few weeks of the war, and I never held a rifle in my hands. But in August 1945 I was called to the G.P.U. and told I was expected to volunteer for work in Russia. When I refused I was arrested, and for weeks I was questioned every night for hours. I was told if I volunteered it would be all right. They also told me that my son was a prisoner of war in Russian hands and would have to pay for my obstinacy. But I still refused, and I was constantly beaten, and the amount of food I was given was steadily reduced. My bruises and wounds were so painful that I could hardly sleep. During the hours of

questioning I had to stand facing a very brilliant light, and my eyes began to suffer badly.

"On two occasions my examiners had their meal in front of me. There were potatoes with butter, sausage, ham, bread, cigars and cigarettes on the table. I was told that if I would volunteer I could help myself, but although the temptation was great I still refused. In the end I was put into solitary confinement in a very small cell, like a box, in which I could only just stand up. I could not even sit on the floor, there was so little space. I was kept for three terrible weeks in this hole. Day and night I could hear groans from neighbouring cells. Then I was taken out again for examination, and as I still refused to volunteer I was sent to Buchenwald, where I was kept for a further year, and released only when I was at the point of death."

Reports of similar conditions and an equally high mortality rate also come from the Camps in Bautzen, Neubrandenburg and Muehlberg. Spotted fever, dysentery and diphtheria cause innumerable deaths in all these camps. Out of 13,000 prisoners in Neubrandenburg only 6,000 were still alive at the end of six months. Out of 16,000 held in Muehlberg 6,000 died in a short space of time. In Wuerzen during the Nazi period thirteen out of fifteen concentration-camp prisoners survived, but out of ninety-one prisoners in the Russian-run camps forty were dead within eight weeks. Those who die are buried in the camps. At first little wooden crosses marked the spot where prisoners were buried, but before long this traditional practice was discontinued, and the old crosses were pulled up and destroyed and the mounds flattened, so that nothing remained to indicate where the graves were.

Executions took place every week in the yard of Bautzen prison. The bodies were then buried in a little wood near Nadelwitz, but often so carelessly that limbs were left above the ground. As the matter created public interest, these bodies were subsequently exhumed and disposed of elsewhere. The men who were engaged in this work were all called to the Kommandantur and told that they were engaged on confidential work and that they must on no account talk to other people about what they were doing. But they reported that all the bodies they dug up were as thin and light as skeletons.

At the concentration camp in Ketschendorf mass burials took place constantly; sometimes up to forty bodies were buried there in mass graves. The bodies were those of youths and young girls.

Although the authorities in the Eastern Zone are just as anxious as were the Nazis before them to prevent the truth becoming

known, it is known, at least in political circles. During a debate in the Diet of Saxe-Anhalt it was revealed that there were even children held in the concentration camp "Pistor" near Roitsch. The deputies of the "block parties" have done nothing to end the shameful happenings. They discussed the matter as though it were the most natural thing in the world that men, women and even little children should be held in such places.

The Spy Scare

The Russians explain the constant arrests in the Eastern Zone by saying that the arrested men and women are spies. There is a real pathological spy scare amongst the Russians. As they are engaged in espionage everywhere themselves, they naturally assume that others are doing the same. And then, there are so many secrets behind the Iron Curtain; almost everything the Russians do is "secret", and, indeed, there is very much they have to conceal. However, very often the charge of espionage is a transparent excuse for an arrest on totally different but less acceptable grounds. And it is all so easy, for the very existence of people who are not wholeheartedly devoted to Moscow's interests exposes them to suspicion as "spies". The spy scare is often grotesque in its forms, but it is never funny for its victims.

A German Communist woman who had spent fourteen years in the Soviet Union and had returned to Berlin addressed a Soviet officer in the underground railway in Russian. He replied, and they discussed various perfectly harmless matters. But when the train arrived in the Russian sector he made her get out with him and go to the nearest patrol, to whom he gave her in charge on suspicion of espionage. Although she was herself employed by a Soviet organization in Berlin she had to spend the night in gaol before her chief came the next morning to secure her release. She was fortunate; if she had had no one to speak for her she would have stayed in prison a very long time.

A dental mechanic named Heinz Handke of Berlin-Charlottenburg had to go to Hohenschoenhausen on December 23rd, 1947, to deliver a set of teeth he had made. He did not return, but a few days later another Berliner reported that he was under Russian arrest as a spy. He had lost his way and wandered into a quarter occupied by the Russians. The man who had seen him had himself been under arrest long enough to grow a beard. He had idly watched some building work proceeding, and had been arrested by a Russian sentry as a spy.

It is, of course, not surprising that the "Unity" Party joins in the spy craze. It has issued instructions to all its members to turn them-

selves into amateur detectives and to report at once when anyone comes into the Eastern Zone from the west, no matter who he is, or what party he belongs to, or what papers he holds. Thanks to this spy craze, visitors to the Leipzig Fair were often endangered, and quite a number of them were arrested by the Russians, including the well-known merchant Rolf Wilsch of Kiel, a nephew of the Mayor of Hamburg, Brauer, and the Bavarian economic adviser, Dr. Georg Michalski, his wife and his student son. Wilsch went to the Fair to represent the Druggists' Association. He describes his experiences as follows:

> "On September 7th in the evening I was stopped on the street by men in civilian clothes who told me to get into their car. When I refused I was dragged in by main force, and taken, as it transpired, to the N.K.V.D., where I was deprived of my bag, my brief-case, a gold wrist-watch and two valuable rings. I was then questioned by seven men in civilian clothes. During the course of the questioning it became clear that they knew not only who I was and why I had come to Leipzig, but also what I had said in the train, in the Fair and at meals."

After this examination, which lasted until two o'clock in the morning, Wilsch was transferred to the Leipzig Remand Prison, and from there to prison in Chemnitz, where his head was shaved. He was brought out for questioning day and night. On October 7th he was suddenly released without any explanation being given of why he had been arrested in the first place and why, after all, the authorities had decided to let him go. He never saw his gold wrist-watch or his two rings again. They apparently counted as N.K.V.D. perquisites. On his release he had to sign a document stating that he had been well treated and well fed whilst under arrest and that all his effects had been returned to him. Then he had to suffer one last piece of chicanery. His inter-zonal passport had in the meantime expired, and the Russian authorities refused to renew the exit visa, declaring that he could go "black" over the frontier "like all the others did".

Communications between the Eastern Zone and the west are strictly watched. American journalists who went into the Eastern Zone in July 1947 had their itinerary carefully mapped out for them and their every movement was dogged by police and N.K.V.D. agents. In Dresden they were not even allowed to go to the Opera unaccompanied, and an attempt to leave their hotel unaccompanied was at once prevented. Even ordinary private persons cannot move about freely. No one is allowed to give shelter to anyone, even for a single night, without previously informing the police. It is reported

from Prenzlau that passengers from the west are frequently stopped, questioned and searched before being permitted to proceed. Germans returning to their homes in the Eastern Zone from abroad are sometimes arrested and held for weeks before they are released. The habit of "screening" is so ingrained in the Russians that they do it almost mechanically. Every connection with the Western Zone is suspect, and every person coming from there has first to be screened—and often put in quarantine—before he is allowed to go free.

German officials and employees of official institutions, for instance in Kottbus, have been ordered to inform the authorities whether they have any relations or friends in the Western Zone or the Western Sectors, and if so to give their addresses. Any correspondence beyond the zonal frontiers is enough to arouse the suspicion of the Russians, particularly in the case of officials. A charge of betraying official secrets has only to be breathed to result in the arrest of the unfortunate concerned.

Cameras, field-glasses, binoculars and other instruments of the Western devil are held in deep suspicion by the Russians. Brigadier General Hynde of the British Military Government had some experience of this. Not far from the zonal frontier he was engaged one day in bird-watching with his field-glasses. Before long he was approached by a Russian patrol who accused him of spying on a Russian airfield. He replied that he was bird-watching—which was, obviously, ridiculous to the Russians—and that he was doing it in the British Sector. He knew nothing of any Russian airfield. For the Russians bird-watching was the feeblest possible excuse for spying, and they took him off to their nearest post, where his papers showing him to be a Brigadier-General were regarded as forgeries. From there he was taken to the Russian Military Headquarters in the Luisenstrasse, where he was released a few hours later, after he had been identified.

At the end of September 1947 two high American officials had a similar experience. The Chief Prosecutor of the American Military Court, Tappan, and the chief of the department for German jurisprudence attached to the American Military Government, McNiel, were both held for some hours. Why they were held at all was never revealed, but at least they were treated "politely". It was fortunate for them that they were not Germans.

Completely Arbitrary Arrests

Many of the arrests made by the Russians seem completely arbitrary, and neither rhyme nor reason can be found in them. As in the Soviet Union itself, no citizen is safe in the Eastern Zone;

at any time of the day or night he is liable to be arrested, whether he is conscious of any offence or not. An incautious word, a misunderstood remark in conversation, a relative in the Western Zone, or a malicious denunciation, is quite enough to lay him by the heels. People fortunate enough to live on the civilized side of the Iron Curtain would be horrified to know the vast number of "crimes" it is possible to commit on the other—often unwittingly. Consider the case of Ministerial Direktor Nudow of the Mecklenburg Ministry for Social Welfare: he was sentenced to nine years hard labour for failing to comply with an order of the Soviet Military Authority. His crime consisted in his refusal to send 2,000 "directed" workers to the Soviet-controlled Wismar Shipyards until arrangements had been made to house them there. Nudow had formerly been a member of the Social Democratic Party, which perhaps explains a lot.

The background of so-called "political arrests" is sometimes unexpectedly revealed, as was the case with the merchant Kasting of Berlin-Pankow. A certain Walter Luedtke denounced him to the authorities as a former district leader of the Nazi Party, a high S.S. leader and a personal friend of Himmler, whereupon Kasting was arrested and taken away. A day or so later Luedtke arrived at Kasting's house in Zerpenschleuse accompanied by "a Russian Commandant" and the Berlin detective Porth. The house and grounds were declared "expropriated", and Luedtke was installed as new "owner", whereupon the three began to plunder the place and divide up the booty amongst themselves.

No doubt Luedtke had reckoned that with such a string of serious accusations Kasting would either not get out at all or only after a very long time. Unfortunately for him, Kasting was able to rebut the charges by proving that he had been an active anti-Nazi under Hitler, and after a few weeks under arrest for inquiries he was released. However, Luedtke did not give up the struggle without a fight, and he managed to secure the arrest of Kasting's manager, Fischer, who had been a great nuisance in the matter of the "expropriation". This Fischer was "questioned" for two nights, during which he was so savagely beaten that in the end he signed everything that was demanded of him. The "Political Leader" of the "Unity" Party in Zerpenschleuse lent his assistance to this. Kasting set to work to obtain his rights, and it turned out that the "Russian Commandant" was a swindler from Serbia, and that the "detective" Porth was also a fraud. Kasting complained to the Potsdam Government and to the Berlin Police Presidium, but in the end he was told that it was impossible to find the file in the case, and he was unable to obtain any compensation for the injustice he had suffered.

An official of the Christian Democratic Union in the Eastern Zone named Noss escaped with a fright from a somewhat similar fate. One morning in the centre of Berlin his car was squeezed in by two other cars and compelled to halt. At that moment men in Russian uniform sprang out of one of the cars, pulled open the door of the car driven by Noss, dragged him into their own car and flung a rug over his head to stifle his shouts. The car then raced off. But when they arrived and handed over their victim to the Russian authorities at the end of their journey it was discovered that they had kidnapped the wrong man, and Noss was released. The man they had wanted was a certain engineer named Limberger of Soemmerda. Fortunately he got wind of the threat and made his escape to freedom in the Western Zone.

The background of this case is also interesting. Limberger was chief engineer at the Rheinmetall Works in Soemmerda, which is now a Soviet-controlled concern. He was also the district chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, and as such he had refused on two occasions to give his vote in favour of an unjustified expropriation proposed by the "Unity" Party. In this connection he had twice been called to the Kommandantur, and then he received a chit ordering him to report to a certain place in Chemnitz. He knew what that meant: deportation to the Soviet Union, and so he fled from Soemmerda to Berlin. After the Noss affair he managed to get right away.

Only very rarely do the relatives of arrested, or rather kidnapped, men hear anything about them afterwards, but in one case the wives of two kidnapped men were visited by a representative of the N.K.V.D. who brought them their husbands' pocket-books and marriage rings. The women had to sign receipts and to make a declaration that they would mention the matter to no one else. The N.K.V.D. man refused to translate a Russian document he had brought along to show them.

Raids into the Western Zone

Whenever it can, the N.K.V.D. carries out raids into the Western Zone after wanted men. If it can trick them into entering the Russian Zone so much the better. A certain specialist for metallurgy and chemistry named Dr. Roeth was employed in a non-ferrous metal works in Wernigerode. The Russians were very anxious to get their hands on him, but in the meantime he had gone to Stuttgart as a lecturer on his subject at the University. The N.K.V.D. arrested his wife and forced her to write a letter to her husband urging him to return to settle certain important matters. Naturally

she was not allowed to mention the fact that she was under arrest. Fortunately Dr. Roeth, who was suspicious, made inquiries and succeeded in discovering what had happened, and thus he was able to escape whatever fate the Russians had in store for him—probably deportation to the Soviet Union as a metallurgical expert.

A German engineer named Hans Grassmann, who had been used by the Russians in their search for uranium in the Saxon Erzgebirge, fled for safety to Zehlendorf in the U.S. Sector. There, at the instructions of Captain Schuratov, the Commandant of the undertaking in which Grassmann had been working, he was seized by two German policemen, who began to drag him towards the Russian sector. Fortunately for him on the way they fell in with an American military patrol, to whom Grassmann appealed for assistance. Grassmann was freed and the two policemen arrested. They were tried and sentenced by an American court to five years imprisonment each.

A Russian lieutenant accompanied by two soldiers, who had the misfortune to be caught engaged in the same sinister task—namely, the kidnapping of a German civilian in order to take him into the Soviet Sector—got off more lightly. The Americans merely escorted him to the Russian Sector.

A man named Christoph Gunia of Langewal, near Ketschendorf, who was accustomed to travel in the Western Zone in the company of Russian officers in order to collect information and organize the kidnapping of various wanted men, was not so lucky. He was arrested by the Americans, and is now in Lichterfelde Prison awaiting sentence.

Sometimes, however, these kidnapping raids are successful. A certain Arkadi Bogatyrov was born in the Caucasus. He possessed German nationality, and during the war he was in German service. The N.K.V.D. kidnapped him from his home in Elmshorn, Hamburg, and when last heard of he was in their hands at Parchim in Mecklenburg. A Russian engineer who had been employed in the dismantling of the Bunag Works was also unlucky. He fled into the British Zone. The police of Halle-Merseburg were instructed by the Soviet Military Authority to get him back at all costs. A detective named Weidenhofer was given the task of executing these orders. He provided himself and his assistants with false papers and a car with a false number-plate and travelled into the British Zone, where he kidnapped his man by force and brought him back. The victim's fate will have been unenviable. Fear dominates the Eastern Zone, and its victims are not Germans alone. Fear rules equally in the various organizations of the Russian occupation. An inhuman system has inhuman results wherever it wields its influence.

Missing Youths

Arrests of a political nature in the Eastern Zone are not confined to war criminals or former supporters of Hitler; but the chief victims of these kidnappings, arrests and deportation are young people. They are often arbitrarily seized on the streets, individually or in groups, and carried off without being given any opportunity of getting into touch with their families. Such cases are reported from Senftenberg, Luebben, Wernigerode and the Russian Sector of Berlin. The Russian excuse is that these young people are members of the alleged Nazi secret society known as the "Werwolf", but in most cases that is merely a pretext and at the same time an attempt to deprive the victims of sympathy. For instance, when the Red Army marched into Demmin, in Pomerania, dozens of young people were recruited for allegedly temporary work, and then they disappeared. The next their parents heard of them was that they were in prison in Altstrelitz. Five months later they were in concentration camp in Neubrandenburg. This they learned from prisoners in the camp who were engaged on outside work. Officially they were told nothing whatever.

I know of cases where young people have been seized on the street in Berlin and taken to the nearest N.K.V.D. post, where under threats they were compelled to agree to enter the service of the N.K.V.D. Such young people are then trained in the wretched profession they are to exercise and sent out amongst their unsuspecting companions. According to the figures of the Berlin C.I.D., 114 young people "disappeared" in June 1947 in Berlin alone. Distraught parents who turned to the "Unity" Party for information were told that the Russians had made no arrangements for prisoners to write or receive letters, as there was a great shortage of censors and translators. The enormous army of missing prisoners of war is now being reinforced by a never-ending stream of "missing" youths. According to information laid before the Allied Control Council by the Catholic Bishops of Germany, by the end of October 1947 there were over 2,000 cases of youths reported missing from religious circles alone, and eight of these cases referred to children under fourteen. One child who was arrested by the Russians was eleven years old; 149 were fourteen years old; 265 were fifteen years old; 270 were sixteen years old; and 144 were seventeen years old. Nothing can be discovered about the fate of these young people, though now and again parents have heard—not officially, but through released or escaped prisoners—that their sons were in a concentration camp or prison, or on their way to the east. Neither the German police nor the Russian occupation authorities are willing—or perhaps in the former case able—to give any information.

Worried parents who persist in their inquiries have been threatened with arrest, and in two cases at least distraught mothers were actually arrested.

Stool-pigeons and Torture

In the first period after the collapse the mass arrests were carried out under cloak of "Anti-Fascism" or "Anti-militarism", but that is not sufficiently wide a net for the Communists and their Russian masters, so the victims are now "Reactionary elements", which satisfactorily covers everybody, because a "Reactionary" in bolshevist eyes is anyone who is not enthusiastically and uncritically in favour of everything the Soviet Government says and does. Social Democrats are naturally "Reactionary elements", and thousands of them have already been arrested and sent to prisons and concentration camp.

In August 1946, shortly after the formation of the "Unity" Party, its Social-Democratic district secretary for Mecklenburg, Willi Jesse, an old anti-fascist, was arrested, and died either in concentration camp at Neubrandenburg or Stern-Bucholz. The financial secretary of the "Unity" Party in Halle, Karl Behle, also an old Socialist, was first expelled from the new party for "an attitude inimical to the best interests of the party", and then arrested. The mere suspicion of sympathy for the Social Democracy in the West is enough to cause a man's arrest, and the list of imprisoned Socialists grows longer every day. Now that oppositional tendencies are beginning to show themselves in the bourgeois parties against the servility of the leaders of these parties towards the Bolshevists, the number of arrests in their ranks is also growing. For instance, the local leaders of the Liberal Democratic Party in Goerlitz, a lawyer named Schade, and a chemist named Otte, and the Vice-Chairman of the L.D.P. of Mecklenburg, Kruckemeier, and the Leipzig official of the Christian Democratic Union, Gerhard Mau, have all been arrested. As usual, no reasons were given for the arrests. Gerhard Mau was later released, but the intimidating effect of the arrests remains.

The following are two examples of how arrested men are treated by the Russians: Town Councillor Auer, an old Social Democrat, was arrested on June 15th, 1945, at a session of the Anti-Fascist Committee in Klotzsche. He was dragged out of the Town Hall, handcuffed and bundled down the steps. In the street he was belaboured with rubber truncheons and kicked. He was taken by car to Hellerau, near Dresden, and locked up in the cellar of a Russian patrol-house. The same day he was released without an explanation. Three days later he was again arrested, this time by Major Vassi-

lienko of the N.K.V.D., accompanied by a Communist police official named Ziefer. Armed Red soldiers drove all the inhabitants of the house in which Auer lived into one room on the ground floor and held them there whilst the house was plundered. Doors were split open with rifle-butts and drawers burst open with bayonets. Cases and boxes were filled with clothing, linen and other things and declared "confiscated", together with Auer's typewriter and a wireless set. The booty was then loaded on to a waiting Russian lorry, and the party then withdrew, taking Auer with them.

When they arrived in the prison situated in an old Dresden barracks, Auer was told to sign a declaration that the searchers had found an automatic pistol and six rounds of ammunition. When Auer refused to sign this document, Major Vassilienko was about to hit him over the head with the butt of his revolver, but another officer present said: "Skip it. He'll sign all right when he's been down below for a few months."

On August 21st, 1946, one year and almost three months later, Auer was suddenly released without any reason being given. When he was arrested he weighed about 150 lb. When he was released he weighed about 100. The doctor who examined him certified that he was suffering from boils, pernicious anæmia and cardiac weakness, and that he was completely blind in one eye. Before his arrest Auer had been a normally healthy man. Inquiries into the whereabouts of the property "confiscated" by Major Vassilienko and the Communist police official Ziefer revealed the fact that no inventory had been drawn up. The two had probably shared the swag between them.

The experience of an old Social Democrat named Walde, a fugitive from Silesia, was somewhat similar. On January 25th, 1947, he was arrested in his home by men of the N.K.V.D. and taken away in a car to Potsdam. In a prison once manned by the Gestapo and now manned by the N.K.V.D. he was beaten and kicked and forced to strip naked. Then he was flung into a filthy cell. After a little while he was dragged out of this cell and brought before Major Silviakov of the N.K.V.D., who greeted him with a volley of abuse as a Fascist and Nazi swine in British and American service. When he denied the accusation and protested against the treatment he had received he was savagely punched and his head was knocked against the wall repeatedly. He was also beaten with a flexible steel rod and threatened that unless he made a full and complete confession of his treacherous connections with the British and Americans the skin would be flogged off his body. With that his "questioning" was temporarily at an end, and he was kicked down the steps back to the cell from which he had been taken. For weeks

this sort of treatment continued, and he was "questioned" every night, but he steadfastly refused to "confess" that he had co-operated with the Committee for the Recovery of Silesia. He was then placed in an underground cell naked and cold water was poured over him, although—or because—the weather was bitterly cold.

But he still refused to "confess", even when they threatened that unless he did so his family would be arrested and brought to Potsdam to keep him company. The brood of enemies of the Soviet people deserved no better than to be exterminated, they told him. Then for weeks he was left in peace. However, the food was so bad that his legs began to swell, and the muscles of his arms withered away. The prison doctor gave him an injection. Then he was brought again before Major Silviakov, who was like a changed man, polite and friendly. This time the suggestion was that he should work for the N.K.V.D. "in the interests of truth". In the meantime he should show his good faith by telling them what fellow prisoners had said. This he also refused to do, and after that they apparently gave him up as hopeless, for at the end of six months he was suddenly turned on to the streets without any release papers and without any explanation, a physical wreck. Before he was released he had to sign a paper agreeing to say nothing to anyone concerning what had happened to him whilst under arrest, a signature given under duress by which he naturally did not feel himself bound in the slightest.

Whoever does not go with us will be Liquidated

The Soviet Military Authority is extraordinarily sensitive to "reports in the foreign Press" and, above all, it would give a great deal to know from what sources the free Press in the Western Zone and in the Western Sector of Berlin obtains its information of what goes on in the Eastern Zone. The representative of a newspaper which appears in the Eastern Zone, and which is completely subservient to Moscow, did his best to discover from a colleague working on the Western Press. He was unsuccessful. "God help them if we ever get hold of their names!" was his impotent threat. Threats and intimidations belong to the general picture of life in the "New Democracy". On October 9th, 1947, the chairman of the Leipzig "Unity" Party, Ernst Lohagen, addressed a meeting of Siemens workers. He was not very well received, and there were many interruptions and much heckling, whereupon he bawled furiously: "Make up your minds to it: whoever doesn't go with us will be liquidated. Before long we'll issue laws that will make you sit up and take notice. In the future clothing coupons and food will be dis-

tributed only in the factories, and then you hecklers will be taught a thing or two. We'll find ways and means of shutting your mouths." The savage outburst of an angry man, but a good picture of what is in store for all those who do not enthusiastically support the "Unity" Party and their Russian masters.

The sort of dangers all journalists run in the Eastern Zone is exemplified in the fate of Bernhard Schulz, a journalist living in Potsdam and working on Berlin newspapers. Schulz was arrested in September 1947 and charged with having collected statistics about the Eastern Zone for the use of non-licensed newspapers. His fiancée, Edith Albruschat, was also arrested and charged with having assisted him and with having used her connections with a licensed news bureau and with the Potsdam wireless for this purpose. Steps have been taken to secure their release, but Russian officials declare that any intervention is useless and neither of them will be released.

Even journalists working in the Western Sector of Berlin are not safe, and if they offend the Russians in any way they are likely to be enticed into the Russian Zone and arrested, or kidnapped and carried off. The former was the fate of Dieter Friede, who worked on the Berlin newspaper *Abend*, licensed by the American military authorities. One evening he received a very plausible telephone call asking him to come to the home of a friend in Friedrichshagen, in the Russian Zone, who had met with a motor-car accident. Suspecting nothing, Friede went off to visit his injured friend. That was the last that was heard of him apart from the fact that a man "who," in the description given by Friede's landlady, "looked like a Kalmuck", called the next day, allegedly at Friede's instructions, to collect his papers. A little while before Friede had published a picture taken from the Soviet Press in the palmy days of the Nazi-Russian honeymoon showing Stalin and Ribbentrop as jovial companions in the Kremlin.

Another "dangerous trade" in the Eastern Zone is that of interpreter. Once these have aroused the suspicion of the Russians, which is a very easy matter, they are lost. For instance, at the time of the so-called "Youth Parliament" staged in Meissen by the Communist-controlled Free German Youth, no fewer than thirty-eight interpreters were arrested in one night.

It is hardly less dangerous to be a German official. The number of such men, who "having lost the confidence of the Soviet Military Authority", now languish in prison or concentration camp is legion, and it includes the Vice-President of the Thuringian Credit Bank, Astor; the Lord Mayor of Rostock, Schulz; the chief of the Stralsund C.I.D., Krueger; the Police President of Chemnitz,

Schwabe; the Chief of Police of Frimma, Schoenfeld; the Police President of Zwickau, Kripper; the Mayor of Ranitz in Thuringia, Bretternitz, and many, many others, mostly former Social Democrats. In order to avoid this fate an ever-increasing number of such officials seek safety on the other side of the frontier. When the Thuringian Premier, Dr. Paul, fled in this way, together with a whole host of other officials, including the Lord Mayor of Jena, Mertens, to evade the clutches of the N.K.V.D., an order was issued that henceforth officials undertaking journeys should never do so except when accompanied by a C.I.D. escort. In addition, they must always leave their families at home. The Reichs Railways in the Eastern Zone have issued instructions to their employees that no furniture or domestic goods may henceforth be accepted for transport beyond the zone without written permission from the "Unity" Party. "People's Democracy" and the ordinary liberty of the individual are diametrically opposed conceptions.

Prisoners of War from the West are Suspected Persons

Another measure connected with the campaign of arrests, internments and kidnappings is the suppression of all private detective and information agencies in the Eastern Zone on the ground that such institutions have no purpose in a "Democracy". The Saxon Minister of the Interior shed a little further light on this strange order when he declared that such institutions had been discovered sending information to the West concerning happenings in the Russian zone, including confiscations, the registration of former German officers, reparations, and so on. So far so good, but there is another aspect of the problem, and that is that these agencies specialize in the tracking down of missing persons. Such activity is, naturally, "out of place" in the Eastern Zone. If professional nosey-parkers were permitted to inquire into the fate of missing people in the Eastern Zone there is no knowing what their activities might reveal. Far better to be on the safe side therefore, and suppress them all with the threadbare excuse that they are "spying" for the Western Zone.

Supervision, control, prohibition are the permanent features of life in the Eastern Zone. Since January 1946 all prisoners of war returning to their homes in the Eastern Zone from the West have to undergo a period of quarantine—as though they were dogs who might develop the mange. Big quarantine camps have been established in Pretsch, Hoyenwerder and other places to welcome home these returned travellers. The political "screening" sometimes takes months. Whoever is disapproved of by the leaders of the "Unity" Party in his home town, or whoever possesses qualifications

as a chemist, an engineer, physicist, air pilot or, indeed, as anything at all likely to be of use to the Soviet Union in its industrial development or its war preparations, has no hope of release. He is sent to the "reception camp" in Brandenburg or Sachsenhausen, and from there he is deported straight to Russia. Home-coming officers are arrested as soon as they cross into the Eastern Zone and sent to Sachsenhausen or Frankfort-on-Oder until their further fate is decided.

Even those who are finally released from this political quarantine have to be very careful, as is exemplified by the case of the worker Kurt Baer, who came back to his home in Holzweissig, where he lived at No. 35, Petersrodaerstrasse, after his release from a prisoner-of-war camp in England. He obtained work in the "Leopold" pit, and not unnaturally talked about his experiences as a prisoner of war to his fellow workers. It appears that he had been very well treated, and that he had a high opinion of the English. In addition, he proudly showed the footwear and clothes he had brought with him. This sort of talk went down very badly with the Communists in the pit, and they delivered an ultimatum that Baer should "cease his pro-British propaganda"—or else. Shortly after that he was arrested by the Russians and sentenced to five years forced labour for "sabotage", which consisted in the fact that he had allegedly not closed the door of a truck containing reparations goods. When his wife tried to find out something about his fate from the local Kommandantur she was told to go home and keep her mouth shut unless she wanted to follow her husband to Siberia.

Esperantists are also Suspected Persons

The authorities in the Eastern Zone do everything possible to hamstring any form of independent initiative. From the persecution of the Salvation Army and the International Bible Students' Association to the breaking up of groups of Esperantists and the prohibition of lectures on jurisprudence at the High Schools—all the measures of the authorities have the one aim: the suppression and final liquidation of all activities not completely approved of by the Bolshevists. In "Red Saxony" a draft bill was introduced to abolish the secrecy of the post and make it easier for the "Unity" Party to track down its enemies and identify those who are in their heart of hearts only lukewarm. In the end this proposal was dropped "in order to avoid undesirable discussion in the Diet". It is a little too early, that is all. In the meantime it must not be thought that the secrecy of the post is really respected in the Eastern Zone. Quite the contrary, and the Central Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Administration announced on October 23rd, 1947, that, "in

order better to fight against black marketeering and hoarding", postal secrecy would no longer apply to the parcels service.

In particular, any communication of any sort beyond the zonal frontier is frowned upon. Sometimes it cannot be helped, as in the case of export orders taken at the Leipzig Fair, but at least a special commission has been instituted to control the execution of all export orders. The luggage-vans of the special Leipzig–Munich Fair trains were always carefully searched before they crossed the frontier into the Western Zone. If "impermissible things" had been found, no doubt there would have been even more arrests in connection with the Fair. Circles outside the Eastern Zone which are interested in the Leipzig Fair are gradually coming to the conclusion that the prospective business advantages are not worth the personal risk involved.

Spies and Eavesdroppers are Everywhere

The most flourishing profession in the Eastern Zone is that of spy and tale-bearer. The "Unity" Party and the Russian military authorities are working hand in hand to establish an all-embracing network of espionage. They are not too proud to learn from their predecessors, the Nazis, and the Nazi system of "Block Wardens" has been taken over whole, with the exception that these part-time police agents are now called "house leaders". In effect they do exactly what the Nazi "block wardens" did before them: they poke their noses into everyone's affairs, and if they smell anything they think the "Unity" Party or the Russians might not like they run at once to denounce it. Leipzig "Unity" Party newspapers vigorously demand that all the 14,000 street and house leaders in the town should be enrolled as members of the "Unity" Party, because the useful work might "lose its deepest significance" if they were isolated from the masses as non-party individuals. Every honorary public office must have a definite political purpose. Only when the "house leaders" recognised this and made themselves familiar with the principles and aims of the "Unity" Party could they give of their best. In Chemnitz these "house leaders" have, by order of the police, to keep a special "house log", in which everything of interest concerning each inhabitant must be entered. These logs are then inspected at regular intervals by the police.

The "Working Committee of Anti-Fascist Students" at the University of Berlin seems to have grasped just what is required of it; it proposes to establish a "supervision service" to keep an eye on "all Fascist and Reactionary elements" at the University, and establish a "black list". Academic liberty looks a bit pale and weak in the "New People's Democracy".

The most reliable watchdogs of the "Unity" Party in the Civil Service are the chiefs of the personnel departments, who are, wherever possible, old Communists. The new "express lawyers" manufactured, so to speak, on moving bands, serve the same purpose in the various Public Prosecutor's Departments. According to information which has come into my hands from Chemnitz, Kottbus and Dessau, the new "People's Prosecutors" work together closely not only with the "Unity" Party, but also with the Russian N.K.V.D.

What is "I.F.O."?

However, the specific spy organisation of the "Unity" Party is the Information Service, known as I.F.O. for short. Its tasks have been set out as follows:

"The Information Service of the Socialist Unity Party is a vital organization within the party. In order that the policy of our party may be successfully pursued amongst the masses of the people the following information is required regularly:

"1. (*a*) Comments and opinions of individuals and corporative bodies concerning the questions or themes raised by the party leadership;

"(*b*) Spontaneous reactions by all sections of the population to events of far-reaching importance.

"2. Utterances concerning elementary vital questions of the German people with regard to food, housing conditions, economics, trade and supplies.

"3. Reports concerning the relations of the civilian population to the occupying Power and utterances on the measures taken by the latter.

"4. Reports of men and women concerning conditions in the Western Zone (the questioning of returned prisoners of war and immigrants, and those who come in temporarily from the Western Zone).

"5. The attitude of the inhabitants to the conditions of public jurisprudence.

"6. Opinions on the intellectual, women's, youth and educational work as it affects the general public.

"7. Reports on the talk amongst the rural population concerning the measures taken by the administrative bodies and by the political parties.

"8. Opinions on the political activities of the Anti-Fascist Block Parties.

"9. Opinions of the population concerning religious

matters (church services, political activity on the part of priests and parsons, church arrangements).

"10. Reports on the illegal activities of Reactionary and Fascist persons and groups (the spreading of rumours, etc.).

"Thus the Information Service concerns itself in the first place exclusively with the collection of reports concerning the feelings of the people. The Information Service has the political duty to recognize public opinion swiftly in order that the Socialist Unity Party may be in a position to devise ways and means in its policy and its agitation to win influence on public opinion by providing concrete answers."

However, the activity of the I.F.O., which is organized in territorial and workshop groups, is by no means so harmless; it does not in the least confine itself to the mere gathering of information. For instance, a report of the I.F.O. branch in Oebisfelde dated February 13th, 1947, records a speech delivered by a member of the "Peasants' Mutual Aid Association", a certain W., who is accused by the I.F.O. of "deliberately making false propaganda". It appears that W. was a speaker at a meeting of the local council in Weddendorf. He declared that the voluntary surrender-of-land scheme was illegal, and that, in fact, the land was being surrendered not voluntarily at all, but under pressure and at the orders of the N.K.V.D. W. appears to have been supported by a number of peasants who were present at the meeting. The official chairman of the meeting, a certain P., appears to have listened to the attacks made by W. and the peasants without opposing them; no doubt because he knew perfectly well that what they were saying was true, and that everyone else at the meeting knew they were true. The I.F.O. records that the "Unity" Party has already decided to expel P. What the N.K.V.D. proposes to do about W. and his peasant friends is not recorded, but can easily be imagined.

The I.F.O. is in reality an organization of spies and informers, as witness a statement made by Birkholz, a member of the "Unity" Party, at a party meeting in May 1947: "I have just had the experience of listening to a number of men talking about the Social Democratic Party and praising it highly. Unfortunately, they had disappeared before I could find a policeman to give them in charge." That is the real spirit of the I.F.O.

Another indication of what is expected of its members is contained in a circular of the Magdeburg District Committee of the "Unity" Party dated March 16th, 1947, and addressed "To the Comrades of the I.F.O." Under the heading "Activities of the Church" the instructions read:

"We urge comrades to work with particular conscientiousness in this respect and to attend church services in order to discover whether the sermons occupy themselves purely with religious affairs."

A circular issued by the Landraete of the Mark Brandenburg dated March 19th, 1947, reads:

"It must be recognized that the Delegation of the Soviet Union adopts a clear attitude in all important questions affecting the German people in favour of its continued existence and its further progress. This attitude should be welcomed and propagated amongst the German people with all possible means.

"I request the Chairmen of all Local Councils to convene extra-ordinary public sessions without loss of time to discuss a one-point agenda, namely: 'Attitude to the Moscow Conference'. Four to six statements of individual inhabitants should be sent in to the Landrat at least once a week (Information Department). The statements should consist of from two to four paragraphs, together with the name, trade or profession, address and party membership."

This official circular shows clearly in whose interests the I.F.O. works. "Public opinion" is moulded or rather created in the Eastern Zone in exactly the same way as it is in the Soviet Union.

"*Confidants*"

The German administrative apparatus also has its internal spy organization. The Landrat of Merseburg recommends his policemen not to neglect the use of "confidants". His circular goes on to say:

"The purpose of the confidants is to supply the police with useful information. . . . When close contact is maintained with them, these confidants are very useful helpers, and they can also be called upon to assist the police in other actions. . . . A real People's Policeman who is flesh and blood of the people, who rules justly in his beat and whose character is upright should never be at a loss for confidants. . . . Close co-operation with these confidants will, when it is correctly carried out, soon bear fruit and make it possible for us to identify those who hamper our constructive work. . . . Lists of these confidants should be drawn up and handed in to me by May 2nd, 1947. This date must be punctually observed as I have to report still further on the matter. Dilatory policemen or police authorities will have to be reported."

A "People's Democracy" with "People's Prosecutors" and "People's Policemen" who rely on "People's Spies"—and the result is a Bolshevist Police State. It is as well that the democratic peoples should know what is being prepared for them behind the Iron Curtain.

The Central Administration of the Interior in Wilhelmsruh also has a complicated network of observers, eavesdroppers, tale-bearers and agents-provocateurs working in close co-operation with the stool pigeons of the "Unity" Party and with the Secret Police, N.K.V.D. or G.P.U. of the Russian Occupation Authority.

Press-Gang Methods Recruit Spies

The supreme master of the whole spying machine is the N.K.V.D., which directs a vast apparatus of paid and unpaid Russian and German spies and agents-provocateurs. House and street "leaders", old Communists, members of the "Unity" Party and of the Anti-Fascist block parties, former pimps, ex-convicts, and many arrested persons who have been "recruited" whilst under arrest and often released on condition that they become spies, form the vast reservoir from which the never-ending muddy stream of slander and denunciation pours viscously over the unfortunate inhabitants of the Eastern Zone. Hotel owners, publicans, hair-dressers, waiters—all categories, in short, whose work brings them into touch with all sorts and conditions of people—are the favourite source of recruitment for the spy apparatus. In a medium-sized town like Zwickau there are no fewer than forty so-called Construction Offices which employ both Germans and Russians. Their work has nothing to do with construction—unless the construction of frame-ups is meant. The profession of these shady characters can be seen a mile off, and ordinary people give them as wide a berth as possible. Berlin in particular is flooded with them. They usually operate in pairs, and it is not difficult to recognize them for what they are.

The methods by which the N.K.V.D. recruits its spies and agents are as like those formerly practised by the Nazi Gestapo as two peas in a pod. Here is the statement of a German living in the Russian Sector of Berlin:

"One evening when I came home I found two policemen waiting for me. They took me with them to the nearest police-station. A motor-car with Russians was waiting there, and I was taken away in it to the Weissensee district. There I was questioned by a Russian Major who was obviously very well informed about my political past. He invited me to work for the Russian Secret Service and promised me extra supplies of food and other things,

such as butter, coffee and cigarettes. If I refused to play my part in the great struggle against Anglo-American imperialism, he said I should find myself in very great difficulties in connection with one or two anti-Soviet remarks I was accused of having made. I adopted a temporizing attitude as far as possible and evaded a direct answer. I was then released. However, two days later I was again arrested. This time I was locked in a cellar for a while and then brought up and questioned by two Russian officers. One of them declared that if I refused to take part in the struggle against Fascism then I must obviously be a Fascist myself, and in that case I would soon have cause to learn how the authorities dealt with Fascist spies. There was nothing else for me to do for the moment, so I signed a statement declaring myself prepared to take part in the democratic reconstruction of Germany, to fight against the Reaction and to work always to expose all fascist and anti-Soviet tendencies in the population."

A case is known to me from Stralsund, where an "old fighter" was summoned to the "Civil Kommandantur" and given the alternatives of being sent straight to a concentration camp or "co-operating". Obviously he had to agree to "co-operate", and he was given the job of getting into touch with prisoners of war who had come from the Western Zone and trying to extract anything of interest from them, and generally to report any cases which came to his notice of people "undermining the construction of the new democratic Germany".

If men try to refuse, then the N.K.V.D. brings pressure to bear. Beatings are the rule in the N.K.V.D. prisons, and newly arrested persons are kept for two weeks before they are examined in order to "soften them up".

On December 18th, 1946, two men visited the premises of a shopkeeper in Koelleda. They declared that they were representatives of the Russian Secret Service, and they told him that as he was the holder of war decorations, he must be regarded as a militarist, and what that meant he knew: economic ruin and arrest. However, if he declared himself prepared to work for the Secret Service, everything would be all right. On December 27th he was summoned to an interview with the N.K.V.D. and ordered to write down a brief description of his career and also to draw up a list of all his relatives, friends and acquaintances, giving all the information he knew about them. He was also asked to give the names of all persons he suspected of working illegally against the "Unity" Party or the Russian occupation authorities and making anti-Soviet propaganda. His first task was to find out people who were spreading the rumour that the

Russians were proposing to evacuate Thuringia. He was further to report all persons he suspected of having hidden arms, and all persons who he thought would fight against Russia in the event of a war between Russia and the Western Powers.

The declaration which these new recruits have to sign usually reads as follows:

> "I, ... of..... hereby declare that I will assist the Soviet Army to the best of my ability in its struggle to destroy all Nazis and Militarists. I have made this declaration voluntarily to an officer of the Soviet Army, and I undertake to say no word about the matter to anyone whatsoever, not even to friends, relatives and members of the Soviet Army. I will submit my reports and all the information required of me punctually and truthfully under the pseudonym of ..... and I am aware that in the event of my violating this undertaking I shall be called to account and sternly punished by the provisions of military law. This I solemnly affirm under my hand." Signature and date follow.

The Octopus

The Soviet News Bureau (S.N.B.) plays a special role in this vast network of espionage. Its headquarters are at No. 15 Parkstrasse in Berlin-Weissensee, in the same building as the headquarters of the German branch of the Soviet News Agency (TASS) and the German Institute for Social and Economic Problems. The building is closely guarded by sixteen German Communists in police uniform, with a full company of Russian soldiers on call. This building is the nerve-centre of a great organization in which the Soviet news system, Soviet propaganda and the Soviet Secret Service are co-ordinated.

All visitors are closely examined on entering and on leaving the building. Work goes on day and night, and the place is never closed. Every modern scientific apparatus is available—wireless, teleprinters, a special telephone exchange and special lines. However, despite all these facilities, the Soviet News Bureau works very slowly, because much more important than speed is the guarantee that everything it puts out should be doubly and trebly warranted against the slightest ideological deviation.

All leading positions in the S.N.B. are occupied by Russians, but the subordinate personnel is largely German. The supreme law of all its activity is the defence of the interests of the Soviet Union and, within that framework, the support of the "Unity" Party, its German tool. Unobtrusively as far as possible, it hampers the activities of the

bourgeois parties which are members of the Anti-Fascist Block, the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party.

The S.N.B. stretches its tentacles over the whole of the Eastern Zone, and even into the other zones. There are branch offices in Schwerin, Potsdam, Halle, Weimar and Dresden, and these in their turn have innumerable offices in other towns. In June 1947, 75,000 forms of application were sent out all over the Eastern Zone to recruit an army of "news collectors". These agents are to be paid a salary of 200 marks monthly and provided with a First-class Food-card and supplementary rations from time to time. The application forms contained no embarrassing questions concerning the applicant's political past. The recruiting campaign met with an enthusiastic response, and in the first week over 800 applications for enrolment as paid spies were received. The particulars of all these applicants were then recorded in the files of the Institute for Social and Economic Problems. This body, with its scholarly and scientific title, employs 200 Germans who have been screened most carefully to ensure their absolute devotion to the bolshevist party line. The agents in the Western Zone are mostly employees and contributors of newspapers licensed by the American or British authorities. They send in their secret reports to cover addresses in Berlin, where they are collected by Russian representatives of the S.N.B. It is interesting to note that all the agents of the S.N.B. are provided with membership cards of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union as a political cloak.

A certain Dr. Burger is an agent of the S.N.B. in Schwerin. At the same time he is the local director of the branch Institute for Social and Economic Problems there. One of his confidential reports dealt with the following subjects:

1. A session of the Central Committee of the "Unity" Party with the District Secretaries of Mecklenburg and Pomerania.
2. What a former German prisoner of war in French hands had said to his acquaintances concerning his treatment.
3. The activity of the Communist Party in the British Zone.
4. Conditions in the concentration camp at Fuenfeichen.
5. Information No. 117 from the British Zone.
6. The recruitment of German prisoners of war for the French Foreign Legion.
7. Conditions in the Pomeranian fisheries in 1946.

That summary provides a fair indication of the real nature of the activities carried on by the Soviet News Bureau and the Institute for Social and Economic Problems.

The Danger of Asking Questions

Many methods of gaining information about people and their views are used in the Eastern Zone. A favourite one is to hold apparently harmless lectures, and then invite the audience to ask questions. One such lecture was delivered by Major Sacharov in Guben, and the audience was then invited to put questions. A number of courageous people did so. Amongst the questions they asked were:

What has happened to our sons and daughters who were kidnapped and taken away last year?

Why are we not getting any coal to warm our houses? Where is it all going?

Why has the food situation got worse two years after the war?

Where are all the cattle transports going which leave Guben every day in an easterly direction?

When is the dismantling finally going to stop?

Why is not the Social Democratic Party allowed in the Eastern Zone?

There was no answer to these embarrassing questions, but the N.K.V.D. pounced on those who had asked them, and that was the whole idea.

Naturally, that sort of thing cannot be repeated too often, and the news soon gets round that people asking awkward questions do so at the risk of their freedom, with the result that questionnaires distributed to the audiences after showings of Russian propaganda pieces such as Simonov's "Russian Question" and Rachmanov's "Stormy Evening of Life" remained blank because people had grown cautious and rightly suspected a trap. One of the questions asked was: "Give your detailed opinion concerning the value of the piece you have just seen for the democratic reconstruction of Germany?" Obviously no one but the hundred-per-centers would dare to answer that.

In the oppressive atmosphere of spying and provocation people are rapidly learning that it is better to keep their mouths shut and say nothing at all. It is even dangerous to talk about Fascism as a regime of violence and slavery, or to condemn the Gestapo terror, for as likely as not the present rulers, who know perfectly well that their own system is precisely the same, will see some camouflaged attack on themselves in such remarks. They suspect hostility and opposition everywhere, and woe betide whoever, perhaps quite innocently, causes their suspicions to fall on him.

CHAPTER XI

RUSSIAN STRATEGY AND THE EASTERN ZONE

THE TOTAL collapse of the Hitler regime was followed by the complete occupation of Germany by the armies of the victorious States. However, Germany was not occupied and administered jointly, but in four separate Zones by four different military governments, each with its own ideas and methods. It was not long before there were sharp differences of opinion between the various occupying Powers, primarily between Soviet Russia and the rest, and the sharper these differences grew the more and more they paralyzed the activity of the only joint administrative organ, the Inter-Allied Control Council. This body was originally intended as a central power above all the various Zonal administrations, but the clause which requires that all its decisions shall be taken unanimously, and not by a majority vote, has turned it into an obstacle to any joint action. The Russian occupying authority went its own way, and so, though to a lesser degree, did the French military government. The reason for the attitude of the Russians must be sought for in the inner development of the bolshevist regime in the Soviet Union. Its wholehearted return to the old Czarist policy of territorial and political aggrandizement was made painfully clear after the victory over the Axis Powers.

Czarism in Red

The November Revolution in Russia did not take place in a highly developed capitalist country, but in a very backward agricultural country. The Bolshevist Party, which consisted of a handful of professional revolutionaries with Lenin at their head, won because it gave the people of Russia what they wanted—peace; and in particular because it gave the peasants what they wanted—peace and land. Victory in the fierce civil war that followed also went to the Bolshevists, though the forces of internal reaction received considerable support, including armed intervention, from the powerful capitalist States of the West. The Bolshevists were victorious because the workers and peasants looked hopefully to them for a better future and were ready to make the greatest possible sacrifices and to endure the severest hardships to defend the November Revolution and its achievements.

However, when the much-hoped-for Socialist revolution outside Russia did not occur, the Bolshevists were forced back completely on their own resources, with the result that specifically Russian traits began to show more and more in the bolshevist regime which had, by this time, developed into the exclusive domination of a single party. In a country which knew nothing of civil liberty, democracy or guaranteed rights for the individual, but only arbitrary rule and oppression, it is not surprising that the State power, now firmly in the hands of the Bolshevists, should take on the same old autocratic character and finally return to traditional nationalistic policies, particularly as the constant danger from without made the hurried building up of a powerful army urgently necessary.

That is exactly what happened, and when the Second World War broke out, the Bolshevist State had already developed very far away from its original inspiration and its original sources of strength. It is true that private property in the means of production remained abolished, but the promise of a classless society and the hope of a fraternal solidarity with all other nations in Socialism had now become an empty formula. The growth of modern large-scale industry had been accompanied by the emergence of a new stratum of intellectuals, scientists, engineers, and technically and economically trained officials and administrators, and these new elements, indispensable in the new State, developed a vigorous consciousness of their power as a new ruling class and sought to increase it in every way, both at home and abroad.

Thanks to the victorious outcome of the war, which was fought by the Soviet Union under nationalistic and pan-Slav slogans, the tendencies to national aggrandizement, particularly in the powerful officers corps, have developed so strongly that they have imposed a definitely aggressive character upon the foreign policy of the Kremlin. The rapid forging of an Eastern European Block under Moscow's leadership, with every possible means of intimidation and pressure, is the visible expression of this expansionism which characterizes the foreign policy of the Bolshevists to-day.

It is only against this larger political background that we can recognize the aims behind the operations of the Soviet Military Authority in the Eastern Zone. They can be seen both in the attitude of the Soviet representatives in their negotiations with the Allied Powers and in the day-to-day practice of the Russians in the Eastern Zone.

Big-Power Strategy

The first step in Soviet expansionism so far as Germany was concerned was the annexation of north-east Prussia. The Soviet Govern-

ment is determined to create a powerful bastion for itself in the Baltic. The former inhabitants of this seized territory were deported *en masse* to the interior of Russia and to Siberia, and their place was taken by Russian colonists. In this way the Soviet Government has sought to create an irreparable and unalterable political fact, which, amongst other things, gives Koenigsberg to Russia as an almost, impregnable ice-free harbour on the threshold of Central Europe.

But this is not the end of Moscow's ambitions. East Prussia is merely the first step on the way to the total domination of Germany, which the Bolshevists regard, in the words of Lenin, as the key to the domination of Europe. Without the destruction and break-up of Germany, Moscow's ambitions cannot be realized. For this reason the Western frontiers of Poland, upon which Moscow has imposed a so-called "People's Democratic" regime entirely subservient to its interests, have been pushed forward to the Oder–Neisse line and been justified by the "age-old" rights of the Slavs. The Oder–Neisse line has a double significance and a double usefulness for Russia. First of all the new Polish regime has had to surrender West White Russia and the Western Ukraine, and to make this palatable it has been given compensation in the west at Germany's expense. Now this makes it perfectly certain that the new Poland and whatever Germany subsequently arises will always be ready to spring at each other's throats, which means in its turn that Poland will always have to rely on Russia to back her up.

Further, as the government of "People's Democratic" Poland is under bolshevist leadership and is thus a willing tool of Moscow (for instance, the decision to establish the "Cominform", was taken in Warsaw), the Soviet Government could even withdraw its troops from German territory, if the Western Powers did the same, without losing anything of its power and influence, because its troops would represent a constant threat to Germany along the Oder–Neisse line and could march forward into Germany again at any convenient time without the danger of a direct collision with the troops of the Western Powers.

The Soviet Government aims at consolidating its influence in the Eastern Zone to such an extent that, come what may, the Eastern Zone will remain a reliable basis for its political and strategic plans. The Soviet Military Authorities have therefore been instructed to do their utmost to "bolshevize" the Eastern Zone in the shortest possible space of time. All their political, administrative and economic measures have this final end in view, though, naturally, they often overlap, and sometimes seem to neutralize each other. In accordance with the age-old tradition of their own country, they use alternately the lollipop of propaganda and the whip of oppression.

But there is not much sweetness in the lollipop and the whip-lash cuts deep. Practice so confounds theory that the weapon of propaganda is rendered largely ineffective. The ordinary every-day methods of the bolshevist dictatorship, which seeks to degrade human beings to the level of cogs in a machine, the atrocious behaviour of the Russian troops, and the patent corruptibility and subservience of the German Communists, have all combined to rob the Soviet Union of its "Socialist" halo in the eyes of the inhabitants of the Eastern Zone. No change in the personnel of the occupation authorities could make any difference. Not even the bolshevist regime can jump over its own shadow, and that is what dogs it inexorably in the Eastern Zone.

Since May 1945 the idea that once Soviet troops are in Berlin they will never leave it has been in the hearts and minds of all Soviet Chauvinists, and when they think they are alone they do not hesitate to give it expression. Just as in the case of the planned seizure of the Persian–Azerbaidjan area and of the Turkish districts of Kars and Ardahan, anyone in the Soviet ranks who questions or expresses doubts concerning the advisability of this plan is liable to dismissal and arrest by the N.K.V.D. In the Eastern Zone the most dangerous subjects for discussion are reparations, dismantling and the German–Polish frontier. A tentative inquiry made by the Liberal Democratic Party of the S.M.A.D. in Karlshorst revealed the fact that the occupation authorities were not prepared to permit any public discussion on these subjects whatsoever.

Firmly convinced of the military superiority of the Red Army, the Soviet leaders are steadily making ready to overthrow Western Europe by blitz tactics. Just like Hitler as long as his preparations were not completed, the bolshevist leaders still mouth phrases about their "peaceful policy", but, as Colonel Rudnik, one of the leading propagandists of the Central Soviet Military Authority, declared in a lecture in Berlin on October 10th, 1947, the Soviet's love of peace is not pacifism, but a firm determination to be strong and beat off the imperialist aggressors. Colonel Tiulpanov, Chief of the Information Department of the S.M.A.D., has declared bluntly: "The Russians were the victors of the Second World War. They have fixed the frontier on the Oder. Whoever interferes with it will conjure up a new war which would involve the destruction of Germany."

The attacks launched by Tiulpanov at the congress of the "Unity" Party show the address to which this threat is directed, and he made no secret of what he called "the criminal intentions of American monopoly imperialism". And without any rebuke from the Soviet censorship the "Unity" Party Press described the U.S. Under-Secretary of State, Clayton, as "a philosophic buccaneer with the

brutal manners of an expansionist used to dealing with colonial peoples". This sort of colourful abuse is becoming quite popular since Vischinsky described leading personalities of Great Britain and America at the meeting of the United Nations in October 1947 as "psychopathological arch-villains, persecution maniacs and manic schizophrenes". The Soviet Commandant of Aschersleben was so delighted with this brilliant performance—which incidentally also delighted the authorities in the Soviet Union, for they made it known to their flock by large placards—that he caused it to be read out at a public meeting specially convened for the purpose. People came to the meeting, of course—it would have been dangerous not to—but when the platform appealed to the audience to express their opinion on the matter, not a soul complied despite repeated invitations.

Political Stage-management with Changing Impedimenta

Whoever wishes to understand Russian foreign policy must first of all realize that it is not guided by any definitely settled principles, but solely by an unwavering determination to increase Russia's power and influence in all circumstances. Any means whatever are acceptable to secure her aggrandizement. In consequence, the tactics adopted by the Russians vary greatly from case to case. When a campaign is ordered, it is carried through ruthlessly and unquestioningly until further notice. Then, as new and different slogans arrive, it is changed from one day to the next. Let us take as an example the demand for the unification of the Eastern Zone with the Soviet Union, the creation of a Socialist Soviet Republic of Eastern Germany, which has been put forward by certain groups in the "Unity" Party as an essay in kite-flying. The moment is obviously not at all suitable for so far-reaching an objective, and Colonel Tiulpanov therefore thunders against the suggestion as "deliberate lying and political provocation", and loudly proclaims that the Russians have no such intentions. This denial is worth nothing as an indication of the final objective of Russia's foreign policy in Germany. It is pure tactics. If an opportunity arose to carry the idea into execution, the denials would all be forgotten, and the Soviet Union would proceed to swallow another huge gobbet of territory.

In the meantime, with the active assistance of the "Unity" Party, the Russians are doing everything possible to consolidate the bolshevist regime they have established in Eastern Germany. Certain other political parties are tolerated for the time being, but only in so far as they allow themselves to be used as a cloak for the bolshevist dictatorship. If the Russians thought that a nationalistic

movement along the lines of the "Free German Committee" which existed during the war would suit their book they would launch it at once, and it would exist just as long as it suited Russia. Every key position in Eastern Germany is gradually being taken over by "reliable" members of the "Unity" Party, and wherever possible economic pressure is being exerted to force masses of people into the "Unity" Party and its various "non-party" organizations. Between them the "Unity" Party and its auxiliary organizations are spreading a net over the whole Zone which soon none will be able to escape, and the training of "bolshevist cadres" along Moscow lines is proceeding merrily.

In order to impress the population with the hopelessness of any form of resistance, they are intimidated by constant arrests and kidnappings, and the political and military strength of the Soviet Union is demonstrated on every possible occasion with slogans, pictures of Stalin, Russian triumphal arches, war memorials and military cemeteries. The latest step in this campaign is the announcement that an enormous statue of Stalin is to be erected in Treptow Park in Berlin. Everything possible is being done to persuade the population that bolshevist rule has come to stay and that all resistance is useless. At the orders of the S.M.A. 350 church bells which were dismantled during the war to be melted down, but which, owing to the end of hostilities, never suffered that fate, have now been sent to Apolda, where another seventy-five tons are waiting to be turned into a great monument to the Red Army. Non-Bolshevists and anti-Bolshevists are to be demoralized by the constant suggestion that Bolshevism is invincible. "Our cause is just and we have been victorious!" "Honour and glory to the valiant Soviet People!" Such phrases are dinned into them ceaselessly, and whoever is not finally convinced by the slogans, which blare at him from all sides throughout the Eastern Zone, spoiling the scenery in both town and countryside, is ripe for the concentration camp.

Even Transport Statistics are a State Secret

The Russian occupation authorities are anxious to create the impression that the Eastern Zone has a democratic "self-administration" controlled by the German people, and that all public bodies, councils, diets and so on are democratically elected by general, equal direct, secret voting with proportional representation. How much all this is worth in practice we have already seen from the methods of fraud and intimidation used to ensure that, majority or no majority, the "Unity" Party can successfully impose its policy.

Side by side with the various parliaments or Diets of the Eastern Zone there are also perhaps a score of various "Central Administra-

tions" whose headquarters are, for the moment at least, in Berlin, though the Russians would very much like to shift them to the provinces where they would be less open to "disintegrating influences" from the other side of the Iron Curtain. In order to have the personnel of these administrations completely under its thumb, at the beginning of 1948 the S.M.A. ordered the dismissal of all German employees who did not live in the Soviet Sector or the Soviet Zone or did not immediately move into them.

It should be remembered that these bodies are German, and that they represent a link between the Central Soviet Military Authority (S.M.A.D.), which has its headquarters in Karlshorst, and the German authorities. They have no democratic basis whatsoever, and they are completely controlled by the Russians, who appoint all their leading personnel. Friction and, in particular, disputes as to competence are constantly cropping up between the provincial governments and these Central Administrations. The S.M.A.D. controls these Central Administrations, whilst the provincial governments are largely tools in the hands of local Soviet Commanders. Neither the Governments nor the Administrations have very much to say or very much to decide. During the past two years it has proved impossible to get even the Prime Ministers of the five Governments together for joint discussions, because it is not in the interest of the Russians that there should be any close touch or co-operation between various German authorities. The Ministerial Departments of the Laender are more exposed in the "People's Democratic" façade. Together with the Central Administrations they represent a vastly inflated bureaucratic apparatus whose effectiveness bears very little relation to its size and the numbers of personnel. On top of this comes the equally inflated apparatus of the occupation authorities. The whole is a dead weight on the unfortunate taxpayer, and its upkeep gives much work to the banknote printers in Leipzig.

The Central Administrations are the indisputable domain of the "Unity" Party, which alone "enjoys the confidence of the occupation authorities"—a fact which is not likely to surprise any reader of this book. In the beginning many qualified administrators and technical experts who were not members of the "Unity" Party had perforce to be employed, but that is gradually changing and the aim is to have the whole personnel of these departments organized in the party. This satisfies both sides: the Communists get privileged places at the feeding-trough, and the Russians realize that the "Unity" Party card is the best guarantee that their orders will be promptly and obediently carried out.

In accordance with the practice of the Soviet authorities every-

where, everything connected with these Central Administrations is "secret". Even the ordinary statistics of trade, industry, commerce and transport are "secret". No. 20 of the official bulletin of the Railway Direction in Berlin, published on July 10th, 1947, contains the following directorial statement:

> "Recently the Press has published figures concerning the workings of the Reich's Railways. The S.M.A. disapproves of the publication of such figures. Although in one case it was said that the figures had been worked out on the basis of material provided by the Reich's Railways it must be assumed from the form in which they were published that servants of the Reich's Railways had a hand in the supply of the material. I forbid herewith any employee of the Reich's Railways to give any information of any sort concerning the working of the Reich's Railways or the affairs of any of its departments. All inquiries in such matters should be directed without exception to the S.M.A. in Berlin-Wendenschloss. In this way the dissemination of information, sometimes false, will be avoided. Anyone who disobeys these instructions must reckon with instant dismissal by the Reich's Railways and punishment by the S.M.A. On account of its great importance this order is to be signed by all servants of the Reich's Railways as an indication that it has been brought to their notice."

Whoever bores the smallest hole in the Iron Curtain is for the high jump, for "Democratic Centralism" prevails in the Eastern Zone. The main object of this Soviet tactic of concealment is to make it difficult for the Western Powers to estimate just how much the economic system of the Soviet Union, and in particular its armament potential, is being strengthened at the expense of the Eastern Zone, whilst at the same time Germans are not to be able to calculate just how much they are surrendering in kind as reparations. The Russians themselves seem to keep no records of what they seize on reparations account, and they are quite determined that Germans shall not do so. Only percentage figures are given concerning the development of production, and it is very difficult to arrive at any reliable figures on that basis. Whoever shows any interest in the real economic situation in the Eastern Zone is treated as a spy. Any report sent out into the other zones is regarded as treasonable. In view of the general attitude of the Soviet Government, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Soviet authorities bluntly refused to give any information to the world food committee of the United Nations in connection with the Marshall Plan. They are not prepared to co-operate at any time with anyone at all outside their own zone of influence.

Even the German Central Administrations have no real idea of the conditions which prevail in the Eastern Zone's economy and therefore all economic planning is rendered useless because it lacks a reliable basis. In February 1947 a conference on production, raw material supplies, imports and distribution was called by the Economic Commission founded in the Eastern Zone at which both the Central Administrations and the Governments of the Laender were represented, but in many important respects the discussions were completely up in the air, because it was quite impossible to estimate stocks or the supplies likely to be available, owing to the secret operations of Soviet concerns, the withdrawals on reparations account, and the constant arbitrary measures taken without warning by local Soviet Commanders. But if the Eastern Zone is to be completely separated from the rest of Germany, then this Economic Commission represents the most suitable point of departure for the formation of a Central Government in the Eastern Zone. In July 1947 a German Administration for inter- and extra-zonal Trading was formed to control the foreign trade monopoly in the Eastern Zone in accordance with the usual Soviet procedure. The main task of this new body will be to integrate the economy of the Eastern Zone into that of the Eastern Block.

The idea of giving industrial activity in the Eastern Zone a fillip by obtaining increased supplies of coal and steel from Poland and Czechoslovakia proved useless because the prospective extra production was immediately ear-marked by the S.M.A. for reparations deliveries to the Soviet Union, and there was thus no likelihood of any fund out of which the costs of the coal and steel could be met. The commodities available in the Eastern Zone for trade or barter with the other countries of the Eastern Block are so few as to be practically negligible, so that an economic integration on a mutual basis is out of the question. There can also be little significance in any agreement between the Soviet Zones of Germany and Austria with the Soviet Union and with Western countries concerning preferential tariffs and special privileges for the transport of goods in which both sides are interested. In the last resort all economic considerations are pushed into the background by Russia's political interests, and the most important of these is that the Soviet Union has not the slightest intention of ever leaving the Eastern Zone voluntarily.

Barriers against Germany's Economic Unity

The first important step towards separating the Eastern Zone from the rest of Germany was the land-reform scheme. Its aim was to replace an indigenous German economic system which had

developed gradually in the course of centuries by a strange system foreign to all Germany's traditions. The long-overdue removal of the out-of-date privileges and powers of the Junker caste was used as a cloak for the first steps towards a co-operative system of agriculture along the lines of the Russian Kolkhoz. The creation of non-viable patchwork pocket-handkerchief-size settlers' portions was only an intermediate stage. The Russian military authorities make great demands on the peasants without giving them the possibility of fulfilling them, and there is method in their madness, because the Russians are interested in demonstrating that peasant economy in the Eastern Zone cannot exist and carry on efficiently without resorting to collective organization along the lines of the Russian Kolkhoz. As the peasants are unwilling to see themselves transformed from owners of the soil into cogs in a machine which is more industrial than agricultural, they are pilloried as wreckers and diversionists intent on sabotaging the economic recovery of the Zone.

Another deep inroad into German economic life was the closing down of the banks and the transfer of all banking and credit business to State hands. In the summer of 1945 all safes and deposits were closely examined and all effects, gold, silver and precious stones, were confiscated as war booty. In March 1946 the bank doors were sealed and all valuables removed to Karlshorst. In 1945 the only bank left in Berlin was the Berliner Stadtkontor, and it was not big enough to meet all the needs for credit. In December 1946 a body with the ponderous title "Commission of the German Central Finance Administration for Securing the Business Assets and Effects of the Main Offices of closed German Banks" was founded. Its task was to prepare a silent liquidation. The fact that all the big banks had their head offices in the Soviet Sector spelt the end of them all.

Connected with this were the closing down of stock exchanges and the blocking of all bank and saving deposits in the hands of business men, business firms and individuals. Only a small part of these deposits was made liquid, and the rest was frozen. Naturally, such measures caused a great shortage of ready cash, but large quantities of new bank-notes were printed and put into circulation at the orders of the S.M.A.D. for the purchase of precious metals, capital goods, for wages and salaries, and for many purposes not in the interests of Germany's economy. During the negotiations in the International Control Commission concerning an all-German currency reform it became clear that the Russians were not prepared to surrender the facilities they now enjoy for the uncontrolled printing of bank-notes. The Western Powers proposed that notes should be printed only in Berlin and under joint control, but the Russians insisted that at least half the notes should be printed by them in

Leipzig. The Soviet Union is the chief beneficiary of cloaked reparations, and they can be extracted with much greater facility in conditions of monetary inflation. At the same time the financing of open reparations is easier, too. Any reform of the currency in the Eastern Zone is therefore not in the interests of the occupying Power.

Small savers and business men have been the chief victims of the blocking of accounts. The liquidation of private insurance companies is also a blow which fell most heavily on the middle and lower middle classes. The former banks and insurance companies have disappeared to make way for State institutions of a monopolist character which take over only the assets of the former companies and not their debits.

At a rough estimate about one-third of the industry in the Eastern Zone has been taken over by Soviet companies and integrated into Soviet economy. The legal form in which such measures are cloaked was revealed by the registration of eleven Soviet companies in the Company Register at Halle, a measure which subsequently incurred Moscow's strong disapproval, as being a revelation of State secrets. The shares of these Soviet joint-stock companies, each representing 10,000 roubles, are all held by two Moscow companies: the Chief Administration of Soviet Property Abroad and the "Rasnoexport" trust. The Soviet joint-stock companies registered in Halle operate primarily in the fuel industry, mineral fertilizers, chemicals, potash, metallurgy, cement, the electrical industry, engineering, iron production and iron manufactures, precision mechanics and the optical industry. The main weight of these Soviet joint-stock companies is in the heavy capital industries; chemicals, brown coal, potash and metallurgy. Saxe-Anhalt has lost thirty-nine large-scale undertakings in this fashion, Thuringia thirty-six, Saxony twenty-three, and the industrially weaker districts of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg two each.

Many changes are still taking place in the structure of these Soviet joint-stock companies, and they are, in fact, still in the experimental stage with a view to finding the most satisfactory form. Some German undertakings which were turned into Soviet joint-stock companies have since been dismantled, whilst others have been handed over to the German authorities to form part of State industry. But these exceptions make no difference to the main fact that the most important industrial undertakings in the Eastern Zone have been prized out of the national economy and handed over to a foreign State in the form of extra-territorial undertakings. No national economic system has ever suffered so greatly from an excess of foreign influence. Through these Soviet joint-stock companies the

occupation authorities enjoy priority rights in every direction, including transport facilities, the supply of power, raw material and, above all, labour power. Whatever future arrangements may be made to fix Germany's share, this situation will always exist and give the occupation authorities an easy lever for political intervention at any time.

As the existing supplies of raw materials, etc., are not by any means adequate to permit the Soviet joint-stock companies to reach their planned quotas, a movement can be observed to obtain materials from the West, ostensibly to produce goods for the population, but to use it in fact for reparations purposes. Therefore these Soviet joint-stock companies no longer receive their allotments from the Central Soviet Military Authority, but from the Laender administrations. Orders are filed for the usual German estimates, and then they are subsequently changed for Russian purposes. None of the orders of the S.M.A., no reparations numbers and the text of none of the orders is allowed to become known in the West. Orders must not be copied, under pain of heavy fines. No responsible representative of a Soviet joint-stock company on business in the Western Zone is allowed to mention the fact that he is representing a Soviet concern, and that his orders are therefore on reparations account. Such representatives who go to the Western Zone on business always operate in the names of their former firms. But this deception is not altogether successful, for the representatives of the West in the Control Commission are not prepared to let the wool be pulled over their eyes so easily. When in September 1947 Marshal Sokolovski proposed that coal, grain and other commodities should be delivered in exchange for reparations from the West, the Western partners requested the Russians to inform them concerning the country of origin of the Russian deliveries, as it would violate the sense of an exchange if it took place at the expense of Germany's economy. Marshal Sokolovski made no reply, and his proposal was silently dropped.

Soviet Accumulation

The dismantling of German industry has not proved an altogether unalloyed success for Moscow. Owing to the feverish haste and often the inexpert fashion in which the dismantling and the transport of the dismantled machinery, etc., were carried out, it was often discovered when the factories were re-erected in Russia that they could reach nothing like their old productive capacity. In addition, the Russians were acutely short of skilled workers to man them. It is one thing to find skilled workers in the Eastern Zone, and quite another to find them in the Soviet Union. As a

result of these unfavourable experiences many industrial key works have been left where they were, and the Soviet authorities have contented themselves with appointing Soviet directorial boards and letting the undertakings work exclusively in Soviet interests. This practice clearly suggests that the Soviet Government has not the faintest intention of ever re-integrating the economy of the Western Zone into an all-German economy. If this re-integration were accepted as the ultimate perspective, then, despite all the difficulties, the Soviet authorities would prefer to dismantle these undertakings and remove them to the Soviet Union.

It is impossible to discover even approximately the extent of the dismantling carried out in the Eastern Zone. British and American experts estimate that by the end of 1946 at least 50 per cent of the industrial equipment of the Eastern Zone had been dismantled and removed to Soviet Russia. Since then, however, dismantling has been continued, and as long as anything is left which strikes the Soviet occupation authorities as in the least way worth being dismantled, the dismantling will undoubtedly continue. Economic life is particularly hard hit by the widespread tearing up of railway tracks, and sometimes whole districts are cut off in this way. The Oderburch district has suffered particularly. Not only was it devastated by military operations and then by subsequent flooding, but it is now being reduced to utter misery by losing its railway connections. Up to the present 7,000 kilometres of track have been torn up, and ninety-one lines have been completely abolished. Fifty-eight per cent of the carriages on the Berlin Town Railway have been confiscated and 517 electric locomotives. Owing to the lack of lines and sleepers, what track remains cannot be kept in proper order. In the summer of 1947 the Russians confiscated a stock of 60,000 sleepers from the works in Zernsdorf, and now the Berlin Railway Direction has virtually no sleeper replacements.

The telephone system in the Eastern Zone has also been disrupted. Not only has modern equipment at the exchanges been dismantled and carted off, but cables and leads have been removed on a big scale. In many villages only the Town Hall now has a telephone. All other subscribers have to use the few remaining public call-boxes, and, that of course, makes it easier for those who control the lines.

The Soviet Union administers its "protectorate" in the Eastern Zone entirely in its own interests, and with an utter disregard for the needs of German economy and the interests of the population. This can be seen particularly in the enormous withdrawals from current production, which leave very little to meet the requirements of the population. As the British Foreign Minister, Bevin, declared at the

London Conference, by the end of 1947 the total value of Russian withdrawals had risen to seven milliard dollars.

Almost anything and everything goes down to reparations account. The Bavarian Motor Works in Eisenach produce 300 vehicles a month for the Red Army, and have been doing so since 1945. Friemann & Wolf in Zwickau, Gorschalski in Ehma, and Sonnenschein in Berlin have been delivering up to 90 per cent of their production, and the rubber works in Schkopau have delivered up to 95 per cent of their tyres to the Soviet Union. The greater part of production in the leading locomotive works Orenstein & Koppel in Potsdam-Babelsburg also goes to the Soviet Union. The Leipzig cartographic industry is busy almost exclusively in Soviet interests, and, amongst other things, 100 different maps have been turned out for the Red Army, including maps of Voelpke, Magdeburg and Schleswig-Holstein and the vicinities. Large numbers of dictionaries (Russian-Spanish, Russian-Chinese, and so on) are also being turned out. Printing works in Thuringia are turning out Russian school text-books in vast quantities. Machinery and implements allegedly being produced for German agriculture actually go almost exclusively to the Soviet Union. After the close of the Leipzig Fair the exhibits of many firms in the Eastern Zone were confiscated by the Soviet authorities. Metal scrap in the bombed and bombarded ruins in the Eastern Zone has to be collected and delivered up to the Soviet authorities by order of the S.M.A.D. It is supposed to be for the use of German factories, but in reality it is exported for the account of the Soviet Union, and very often under world market prices. Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely. For instance, despite the allegedly splendid harvest in the Soviet Union in 1947, large quantities of foodstuffs are still being taken from the Eastern Zone and sent to the Soviet Union, although the people who produced them are themselves on the verge of starvation. From September 1945 to August 1947 no fewer than 12,607 trains totalling 505,388 trucks were sent off to the Soviet Union loaded with reparations goods.

Many goods seized on reparations account are not sent to the Soviet Union at all, but are exported to other countries for Soviet account. "Hard-currency" is a magic formula for the Russians as well. In the first six months of 1947 the value of Soviet exports to Sweden totalled 39 million Swedish crowns, and 15 million crowns of this was accounted for by exports from the Eastern Zone. Stockings were exported from Saxony to Great Britain, Denmark and Holland. Brown coal went to Switzerland. Textiles to Switzerland and France. The famous Meissen Porcelain Works is now a Soviet concern, producing exclusively for Soviet exports. The profits of

such concerns do not go to the German producers, but to the Soviet treasury, very often through the intermediary of Soviet concerns such as Promexport (sewing machines, typewriters, calculating machinery, motor-cars, bicycles, electrical appliances, and so on), Exportljon (textiles), Rasnoimport (dyes, chemicals, films, non-ferrous metals), Soyuspushina (furs), etc. These trusts place orders with German firms which under the conditions existing in the Eastern Zone cannot be refused. The purchase price is paid by the Soviet trusts, and after that German firms have usually no idea what happens to their products. Where the mark sums which are paid over come from can only be guessed—probably out of the funds placed at the disposal of the Central Finance Administration by the Laender for "General Zonal Purposes". In 1947 these funds totalled 5·2 milliard marks. Compared with a total social product of 13 milliard marks, this is an enormous sum. The occupation costs amount to about 2 milliard marks, and a further 1·7 milliard marks go to reparations account. The rest is retained "to reduce the excess of purchasing power", and represents a mortgage on future German production.

The Russian occupation authorities have also various other methods by which they exploit the resources of the Eastern Zone at the expense of the population. Through the Centrale Sanitaire Suisse, a camouflaged Communist organization which is supposed to be "non-party", in conjunction with Berlin Central Administrations, coal coupons at a price of 100 francs per double cwt. were offered and taken up by the district distributors of the "People's Solidarity" scheme in Berlin and 145 other towns in the Eastern Zone. In this way Swiss charity was made to contribute to the Soviet treasury.

In Leipzig cigarette shops were suddenly opened to exchange cigarettes of Soviet manufacture for gold (sixty cigarettes for one gram), though this proceeding is in defiance of all existing regulations. The same thing took place elsewhere, including Kottbus, Guben, Spremberg, Goerlitz and Loebau. The cigarettes were supplied by the Soviet trust "Rasnoexport", whose operations thus overlapped those of the Centre for the Purchase of Precious Stones and Metals in Berlin-Weissensee.

The sale of cigarettes is a popular means of extracting gold and other valuables from the German population. Over 3,000 tons of tobacco, largely booty from Vienna, were delivered to cigarette factories in Berlin and Saxony. Enormous profits were made, and 1,800 million cigarettes were sold at prices ranging from 2·50 marks to 3·15 marks apiece. Armed with permits from the Central Soviet Kommandantur in Berlin, German spivs travel all over the Eastern Zone,

even penetrating into the Western Zone, peddling vast quantities of Russian cigarettes. Their permits call on all and sundry, including the local Russian Kommandantura and the German police, to afford them every possible facility and assistance. The "Unity" Party usually demands the severest punishment for all forms of spivvery, including even death—it is one of its most democratically indignant slogans—but clearly, when it suits the Russian book, spivs are privileged persons who can rely on an almost diplomatic immunity.

Soviet concerns are utterly ruthless in their business operations, as witness, for instance, the purchase of the petrol-pump network in the Eastern Zone by the Russo-German Naphtha A.G. (Derunaphth), which has an interesting background of deceit and intimidation. The Thuringian Government, which owned the petrol-pump system, was approached by the Derunaphth, but refused to sell, on the grounds that it would not be in the best interests of German economy for a Russian concern to own all Thuringia's petrol pumps. However, the would-be purchasers were not to be denied, and they threatened that unless the Thuringian Government came to terms (their terms) its petrol supplies would be cut off. The Thuringian Government still refused, and it appealed to the Economic Department of the Central Secretariat of the "Unity" Party for support. But the "Unity" Party tools of the S.M.A. returned such evasive answers that the Thuringian Government was compelled to realize that no support would be forthcoming, so when Soviet pressure increased it had no alternative but to "agree" to sell, particularly as it was informed that the Saxon Government had already signed a similar agreement. What it did not know until later was that the Derunaphth in Dresden had informed the Saxon Government, which had also demurred, that the Thuringian Government had already signed the agreement for sale. Such methods are part and parcel of Russian business operations in the Eastern Zone. If persuasion is not successful then fraudulent representation and bare-faced lying are called in, backed up if necessary by intimidation and the threat of force. If firms in a capitalist society adopted such methods they would soon find themselves in the courts as swindlers, but it is not possible to bring a Soviet company before the courts, no matter how reprehensible its methods may be.

Of late there has been a new feature in dismantling operations. Ostensibly in order to save fuel and power, factories are being "amalgamated". Usually they are medium-sized undertakings. Invariably "something is left over" after the amalgamation, and this "something" is then dismantled, and goes the way of all such equipment. In the meantime an attempt is being made to maintain

production by a system of three-shift working, but nevertheless in the textile industry alone a reduction of productive capacity by a fourth, or even a third, is feared.

Towards the end of 1946 the Soviet economic authorities took away all Russian raw materials which had been delivered to textile factories working for the Army, and returned it to the central stores to await re-distribution under a new system of quotas. The result was that production was suddenly interrupted and masses of textile workers flung temporarily on to the streets. Russian planners never bother their heads about minor details like that, but they still expect production to be maintained.

Many blocks of dwellings and offices, including damaged buildings, are being bought up by Soviet companies in Leipzig, Halle, Erfurt and other towns, whilst others fall into Soviet hands by expropriation. The property of all "politically compromised" persons is liable to expropriation, irrespective of its size, so that small as well as big businesses are concerned. Expropriations are usually preceded by inquiries of factory committees and employees, and as there are no proper proceedings and no possibility of appeals, there are no guarantees whatever against malice and arbitrariness. "Executors" are placed in charge of an expropriated firm, and they are usually chosen for purely political reasons. Up to the present, not only in Berlin, but throughout the whole Eastern Zone, the Russians have had unfavourable experiences with these "Executors", who are usually members of the "Unity" Party. In very many cases the Russians subsequently discovered that they had appointed convicted criminals who immediately abused their positions of trust to feather their nests.

"Working Chiefly for Soviet Orders"

Such large-scale undertakings as were not seized at once by the occupation authorities found their way into national ownership either by "people's referendum", as in Saxony, or by decree, as in Thuringia and Saxe-Anhalt, where "all natural resources" are now "in the hands of the people". The sphere of "public ownership"—over which incidentally the people have not the least control—also extends to medium-sized and even small concerns, and in Mecklenburg even small glass-blowers and bakeries have been included, and in Thuringia saw-mills and brick works employing no more than fifteen persons. And, as we have already mentioned, cinemas and bookshops have been seized because pro-Nazi films were exhibited and pro-Nazi books sold under Hitler—as though the owners had any alternative! Hotels have been seized because during the war their owners did not refuse (!) to give quarters to German troops

and German staffs. All in all, including the 1,200 undertakings seized by the Berlin Centre, over 10,000 undertakings of all sizes were made State property, though a number of small and unprofitable concerns were subsequently handed back to private owners. No figures are published concerning production, balances, profit and loss accounts, inventories and so on relating to these "publicly-owned" concerns, but now and then facts leak out to show that undertakings which were formerly sound and profitable business concerns are now running at a loss after going through the State sausage machine and being burdened with excessive bureaucratic costs. For instance, Order No. 94 47 issued by the Central Soviet Military Authority in Karlshorst, reveals the significant fact that 201 concerns in State hands in Saxe-Anhalt normally showing a net profit of 25 million marks finished up at the end of the accounting year with a loss of 2 million marks, and managed to reach only 70 per cent of their production programme. Much the same result was obtained from the agricultural undertakings in State hands. A deliberate policy of concealment is maintained with regard to all operations, and the people have no reliable information concerning the workings of "their" undertakings, although they represent an important sector of production. But from what does become known it is quite clear that not all the never-ending reports of fulfilment and over-fulfilment of plan quotas—"norms", as the Russians call these graven images of bolshevist economic ideology—not all the compulsory "voluntary" competitions with "Shock Brigades", "Stakhanovites", "Pioneers of Labour" and "Heroes of Reconstruction", can replace administrative experience and healthy initiative.

The majority of the State-owned undertakings are engaged on production for reparations account, including the Wismar carriage works, the Busch A.G. in Bautsen and the Schumann Works in Werdau, which were ordered to deliver 1,600 double-axle trucks for broad gauge between them for delivery in 1947. When they are not working for reparations account these State-owned concerns have to take their proper place far behind the Soviet concerns in the matter of raw-material supplies, fuel, power and labour power. In consequence, their production is low. The State-owned industries have proved profitable only for the "Unity" Party officials and their friends and relatives.

The wide-scale expropriation of private undertakings by the State represents a preliminary stage in the bolshevization of the Eastern Zone. It is much easier for the occupation authorities to control—or confiscate—these State-owned conglomerations than it would be in the case of a variety of privately owned concerns. When the Eastern Zone is incorporated organically into the Soviet Union,

as is the ultimate objective, then the State-owned concerns will automatically fit into the Soviet economic structure. The fundamental character of the economic system in the Eastern Zone has already been radically changed. In the Western Zone private ownership is still the basis of the economic system, but in the Eastern Zone things are already far developed towards, not a socialist economy, but a bureaucratic centralized economy on strictly Soviet lines. It is not surprising that in the circumstances what is left of privately owned economy shows an increasing urge to shift its operations from the Eastern to the Western Zone.

The Real Meaning of "Order No. 234"

The cumbrous system of directing and controlling production from a green-topped table at a central point according to preconceived theoretical ideas, without any proper consideration for existing circumstances, with an armoury of threats and fines behind a façade of success, success and over-success, has had a devastating effect upon production, particularly as stores are exhausted and machinery obsolescent. Quite apart from the fact that the workers in the Eastern Zone are permanently under-nourished, which must have an effect on the productivity of labour, they have no incentive whatever to work hard and increase production. Most of the goods they produce are for export, and they get nothing in return. In addition, Russian bullying and browbeating do little to improve the general spirit or make them any the more willing to exert themselves. The representatives of "the Fatherland of all the Toilers" are less willing to recognize the rights of workers than even German capitalists were under the Weimar Republic. German labour power is used without consultation wherever the Russians want it, and over and above that there is direction of labour and forced labour in the sole interests of the Soviet State. All this has engendered bitterness and indignation, and a corresponding decline in the will to work. Measures are urgently necessary to improve the situation, but all the bolshevist can think of is new threats and new orders, and nothing whatever is done to get at the root of the matter.

Behind closed doors in the headquarters of the Central Soviet Military Authority in Karlshorst a group of intimidated German engineers and industrial managers were gathered together to submit to a dressing down at the hands of the Supreme Soviet Commander, Marshal Sokolovski. Smothered with medals, the "Hero of the Soviet Union" marched in with a face like thunder, his Staff bringing up the rear. Bellowing at the unfortunate Germans and overwhelming them with reproaches, he delivered an ultimatum: unless industrial production in the Eastern Zone increased, and very

quickly at that, he would find other work for them and their like—in all probability digging for uranium. Industry lagged behind the plans to a grotesquely impermissible degree. Sabotage was widespread. If that sort of thing went on he would consider sending the workers of whole factories into the uranium mines together.

In the meantime, what was to be done? Ways and means must be thought out to give the workers more incentive to increase their production, and at the same time observers and inspectors must be appointed to control their work and report cases of incompetence, carelessness and false political attitudes. All the offences reported by these observers and inspectors would be severely punished. No excuses of any kind would be tolerated, because the honour of the Soviet Zone demanded that it should not lag behind the Western Zone.

In conclusion, the Marshal turned his benevolent attention to the spiritual well-being of those assembled before him. In order to make them into successful collaborators Colonel Tiulpanov would hold weekly lectures for them on Soviet history and on the successes of the Soviet Union; naturally, attendance would be compulsory, and a record would be kept of all those present.

That was the curtain-raiser for the issue of "Order No. 234" on October 10th, 1947. After a number of decorative propaganda flourishes, concerning the unprecendented achievements of the Eastern Zone in the sphere of labour legislation and the rights of the workers to have a say in industry, this masterpiece of governmental art turned to more practical affairs. The productivity of labour must be raised and labour discipline consolidated. In both respects things were incredibly bad in many factories.

The Marshal was certainly right in this respect. As Walter Ulbricht pointed out at the congress of the Socialist Unity Party, absenteeism had risen to 28 per cent in the Mansfeld factories, to 17·5 per cent in the Maximilian Foundry, to 32 per cent in the Mannesman Engineering Works, and so on. It had been discovered, for instance, that in the Gruson Works in Magdeburg, 20 per cent of all raw materials had been stolen and sold on the black market. In Unterwellenborn 40 per cent of the pig iron produced had been spoiled owing to a lack of high-quality ore and the use of Russian ore with a high sulphuric content. And according to the *Taegliche Rundschau*, the officious organ of the Red Army, investigations embracing fifty undertakings had revealed that between 15 and 20 per cent of the workers came to work only irregularly, and spent the rest of their time roaming around the countryside, usually armed with false papers, searching for food. The paper attacked the management for not having taken vigorous measures to put an end

to this state of affairs, and reproached the unions for regarding it too lightly, as a mere administrative affair. It is easy enough to find scapegoats, and the Russians are very good at it, but in the last resort it makes no difference to the hard fact, which is that in many factories production is only half, or even one-third, what it was before the war.

For Sokolovski the cause of this chaos and disorder was quite clear: "It is a consequence of insufficient watchfulness on the part of administrative bodies, factory managements and democratic organizations with regard to the complete utilisation of all possibilities for improving the situation of the worker." In short, the thief shouts "Stop, thief!" and tries to make his get-away in the ensuing confusion. In the same way, the excessively high rate of industrial accidents which prevails in Soviet-run factories is not due to constant slave-driving, the ignoring of safety measures and so on, but to a lack of care and supervision on the part of foremen, etc. So that when a boiler explosion took place at the Espenhain pit, the men were called together for a wigging, and the engineer of the night shift, in whose turn of duty the explosion occurred, was arrested. "Sabotage" is the constant cry of the Russians to cover up their own incompetence. They have used it for years at home, and now they have transferred the trick to the Eastern Zone.

In order to put an end to the existing abuses, Marshal Sokolovski ordered that measures should be taken to improve the production of important factories, to improve the transport system, to increase the productivity of labour and to combat absenteeism. The Laender Governments and the Labour Exchanges were instructed to provide important factories and building operations with volunteer labour, in order to prevent fluctuation. At the same time the "direction" of labour was to be "considerably reduced". Workers in important industries were to have an extra warm meal a day as from November 1st, 1947, but "of variable quality" and only for "skilled workers", "heavy workers", and "other categories". These "important industries" are, of course, only those which directly interest the Russians, either because they run them themselves or because their production goes to reparations account.

The first thing that happened after this was the hurried appointment of many members of the "Unity" Party as "works instructors", in order to ensure that they got the warm meal, for merely being a worker is not enough to qualify under this great act of generosity. Factories which do not fulfil their production schedule despite the meal can be temporarily excluded from the distribution. One of the great achievements of Bolshevism in industry is, of course, that the whip of hunger no longer falls on the backs of the workers.

The long and detailed order No. 234 of the Central Soviet

Military Administration also abolished various factory regulations which still existed from the Hitler period, because allegedly they were "insulting to the dignity of labour". The Central Administration for Labour and Social Welfare was instructed to draw up new regulations to replace them in consultation with the trade unions. At the same time the "frivolous attitude" of certain managements concerning labour protection and the prevention of industrial accidents came in for criticism. The working week was also fixed at not more than forty-two hours for workers under sixteen, and not more than forty-five for workers from sixteen to eighteen years of age. "During the course of the next two years" polyclinics are to be attached to all factories and other undertakings employing more than 2,000 workers. A uniform procedure for the issue of sickness certificates has also been introduced, and doctors who issue them "without proper cause" are liable to fines and imprisonment and the loss of their right to practise. The general development in this respect is indicated by a report from the Oelsnitz mining district that only sickness certificates signed by Russian doctors are accepted there. According to Russian ideas, a man is fit for work provided he can still stand on his feet and has not a high temperature.

To create a new type of worker who does not get himself certified as sick in order to go off searching for food, there is to be a closer control to discover whether a man who has a certificate really is sick. An "Envoy of the Social Insurance Scheme" is to be elected for every forty workers in a factory, and it will be his job to visit sick workers in their homes to make sure they are not malingering.

"Socialist competition" is, of course, to play a great role in the new campaign to increase production. For instance, in an appeal to drivers to compete with each other in economic running, the Halle Railway Administration announces that the number of miles run and the amount of coal and oil used will be calculated for competition purposes. The shunters in the yards are also to be encouraged to "enter into socialist competition" with each other. Russian experience has amply demonstrated what eyewash such absurd methods really amount to.

Following on the famous Sokolovski Order No. 234, the Central Administration for Labour and Social Welfare drew up a model labour plan by means of which managements, etc., are to organize the labour process in such a way that the last ounce is squeezed out of the workers, who are exhorted to work properly, keep strict labour discipline, arrive punctully, not leave or stop work before the end of the shift, fulfil the productive norm allotted to them, not waste time on unimportant matters in their working hours, and do everything

possible to improve working methods. As an incentive to them to do all these things, monthly notices are to be exhibited by the management, recording all work done in excess of the fixed norms, and the names of the best workers are to be inscribed on special "Tables of Honour". These workers will receive up to 90 per cent of their pay in the event of sickness, and be sent to sanatoria for reconvalescence. They will also receive assistance in repairing their homes, and be given special facilities for the purchase of clothing, footwear and other manufactured goods. The other side of the picture is a long list of punishments for violating any of the regulations, including rebukes, stern warnings, public reproach, loss of supplementary food in the factories, loss of holidays, and, finally, dismissal and punishment before the courts. In severe cases the provisions of Order No. 160 45 against sabotage and diversionary acts come into operation.

All these rules and regulations are taken whole from the normal practice of the Soviet Union. In an atmosphere of intimidation and compulsion, and with the complete abolition of all personal freedom, they are naturally not altogether without effect. The individual is tied to his factory; he usually has a wife and children to think of; and he is unable to escape. But such measures can never encourage a real will to work with a consequent increase of labour productivity. Such methods as publicly exhibiting a "Gallery of Honour" with pictures of the good boys have little or no effect in the Eastern Zone, and in fact they produce resentment rather than emulation. As for the "adoption" of factories by ministers and prominent leaders of the "Unity" Party . . .

When the promises of the Sokolovski Order came to be fulfilled there was a great deal of confusion and disorganization. Very often foodstuffs were distributed instead of the warm meal, or the warm meal turned out to be badly prepared and of inferior quality. In addition, food was stolen and cliques formed. When premiums were distributed in the form of textiles, a worker often found that the piece of stuff he received was too small to make anything out of. Or he found himself presented with children's shoes or baby's clothing whether he was in a position to use them or not.

The mechanical drive for production at all costs encourages factories to produce what is easiest rather than what consumers need, because as long as they can manage to fulfil their production quota that is all that matters.

Soviet methods are becoming more and more widespread in the Eastern Zone, though the system itself is not yet so firmly entrenched as it is in the Soviet Union. For one thing, the Russians distrust the Germans and keep a very close eye on them. When the

Sokolovski order failed to produce the desired result, there was, of course, as far as the Russians were concerned, only one explanation: malice, sabotage and treachery. The inevitable storm broke in January 1948. The officious *Taegliche Rundschau* opened up a broadside against various Ministers and against the work of the German Economic Commission in the Eastern Zone in general. The Mecklenburg Minister for Social Welfare, a member of the Christian Democratic Union, was accused of having side-stepped the order and done nothing at all to assist in the establishment of medical posts in the factories. The Thuringian Minister of Supply, whose secretary had already been arrested in connection with the Kaiser crisis in the Christian Democratic Union, was blamed for the breakdown of food supplies to the important undertakings and industries mentioned in Sokolovski's order. But even members of the "Unity" Party, such as the Thuringian Minister of Labour and the President of the Central Fuel Administration, were not spared. Various economic leaders, public men and leading politicians were accused of failing to give the trade unions and the factory councils adequate support and encouragement, in consequence of which the initiative of the workers had been unable to develop properly.

Illuminating Details

The Sokolovski Order makes it perfectly clear that factory councils, etc., have no influence at all on the management of the factories. Order No. 128 of the Soviet Military Authority in Thuringia dated June 6th, 1947, placed absolute authority in the hands of the management: "The management must be freed from all control or petty interference in questions of production on the part of Factory Councils". This applies throughout the Eastern Zone just as it does in the Soviet Union. Outwardly the Russians still try to keep up the façade of "workers' control", as witness the dishonest declaration of General Kotikov to the Allied Commanders "on the improvement of the situation of the Berlin toilers": "The factory committees in the Soviet Zone have the right to take part in the management of the factories and to exercise a control on their working." Whether "the right" formally exists or not is a matter of no importance; the fact is that nowhere in the Eastern Zone is any use made of it.

The "Fourteen Points" of General Kotikov aimed at putting Berlin on the same footing as the rest of the Soviet Zone. In this, of course, Kotikov could count on the full support of the "non-party" Free German Trade Union Federation. But the workers in Berlin still enjoy a measure of freedom, and they used it to turn down the federation. In a sharp protest against the attempt to put the Berlin factories in line with those in the Eastern Zone, the Workers'

Council of the main A.E.G. works pointed out that "in the Eastern Zone, and particularly in the expropriated undertakings, which are allegedly in the hands of the people, any attempt on the part of the workers to exercise influence on the managements is systematically prevented". The protest then goes on to say that instead of social improvements in the Eastern Zone, there is an increasingly ruthless system of exploitation. Freedom of movement and choice of the job were being more and more limited; paid holidays for non-technical personnel cut down; and personal freedom limited in every direction. Any attempt to introduce such conditions into Berlin would be anti-social and opposed to the best interests of the working class. Therefore, concludes the protest, the Central Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation had earned the liveliest mistrust of its members.

This protest was backed up by the Factory Councils of other Berlin undertakings, including Siemens, Osram, Ludwig Loewe, Lorenz A.G., Fritz Werner (Marienfelde), Telefunken, Mix & Genest, and National Registrierkassen, and by the union of foremen and technicians with 90,000 members. Obviously the still-free workers of Berlin are "Reactionaries" who fail to understand the blessings introduced by the Russians into the Eastern Zone.

In the light of this freely expressed working-class opinion the declaration of the Saxon Economic Minister, Selbmann, a prominent member of the "Unity" Party, that the Sokolovski Order is more in the interests of the German people than the Marshall Plan because it mobilizes their national resources, is seen clearly for what it is: a piece of odious lickspittling. The Berlin factory councils express the real views of the working class, and they are able to do so freely because they enjoy the protection of the inter-Allied Control Commission. But even in the Eastern Zone itself, where every freely expressed opinion involves deadly danger, the discontent of the workers often manages to find expression. For instance, at a "plenary conference" of the Leipzig Factory Councils, according to the reluctant evidence of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, the organ of the "Unity" Party, the Sokolovski Order "was regarded sceptically" by a number of delegates, who even "doubted the possibility of its fulfilment". And one speaker, who is alleged to have "attacked the unions"—which seems very unlikely—even won applause from the audience. But such elements are, in the words of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, "provocators whom we shall one day have to call to account".

Why the workers in the Eastern Zone are no longer deceived by the fine-sounding speeches of their trade union leaders, and why they are beginning to show their discontent is no mystery when one

knows, for example, that the miners at the brown-coal pits in Espenhain near Leipzig are being compelled to work a twelve-hour shift on Sundays without being paid the agreed overtime and Sunday-work bonus of 50 per cent. Only every third Sunday is a free day. Formerly overtime was made up by time taken off during the week, but now that is no longer permitted, and miners are working a sixty-hour week. Another source of embitterment is that the trade union representatives—all staunch "Unity" Party men—openly favour their fellow party members in the distribution of working clothes, manufactured goods, etc.

Needless to say, these trade union officials do not bother their heads about the interests of their members. Formerly piece-work was anathema in trade-union eyes, but now, because it is in the interests of the Soviet bosses, it has suddenly become "the only just basis of wage payments". The only aim of these trade unions is to squeeze the utmost possible production out of their members in the interests of the Russians. The health and well-being of the workers are of no importance. The ventilation and dust-abatement equipment in the mines managed by the Russians is often defective, in the brown-coal pits there is often no light, with the result that the sickness and accident rates are excessively high, but the unions do nothing. And this sort of thing applies to other workers as well. For instance, when workers unloading cement in the Berlin Westhafen held a protest meeting against piece-work, they were promptly deprived of the supplementary ration granted by the Russians for workers engaged on unloading for the Derutra.

The campaign launched by the unions against the proposal that certain undertakings should be returned to private hands is going badly—for instance, the Factory Council of the Daimler-Benz Works in Leipzig refused to carry a motion against the return of the works to its former owners, declaring that since it had become "the property of the people" production had fallen by 50 per cent; and in a factory in Loebau, despite all the efforts of the union, 80 per cent of the workers voted in favour of returning it to its former owners. If the workers in the Eastern Zone could once get the Russians off their backs they would give short shift to the "Unity" Party and all its retinue of "non-party" organizations, including the "Free German Trade Union Federation".

The latest "Unity" Party move is the sending of "Instructors" into fifty-one industrial groups "as political activists to influence the comrade workers". As the main object of these political activists is to introduce "Socialist competition" into the factories in order to raise production, the move is not likely to meet with much success. The workers in the Eastern Zone have already noticed that whilst

"Stakhanovite methods" may increase production, they do nothing to improve working-class conditions.

In order to help carry out the Sokolovski Order, the Block Parties and the "non-party" mass organizations in Thuringia have formed a "National Control Committee" with numerous sub-committees ("People's Control Committees") to supervise trade and handicraft, smooth out bureaucratic difficulties, and "mobilize" the people to carry out Sokolovski's wishes. One typical example will suffice to show how this "people's control" works in practice. When Steudtner, Lord Mayor of Arnstadt, sent a lorry loaded with 500 litres of proof spirit, thousands of thermometers, a consignment of leather gloves and a batch of thermos flasks to Hamburg for barter, or, as it is called, "compensation transactions", the "people's controllers" respectfully examined the drivers' papers, which bore the official stamp of the Arnstadt Landrat's Office, and then let the whole black-market consignment go through without objection. Having done its job in Hamburg, the lorry was returning with a consignment of motor-car tyres when it was stopped by quite a different sort of control—namely, the Hamburg Police. The consignment was confiscated and a "Unity" Party official named Knauf, who had been sent with the lorry by Steudtner, got a year's imprisonment for his part in the operation. When the affair came out in Arnstadt, the man who had made out the papers and stamped them was arrested, but the Lord Mayor remained immune. The situation is different, of course, when these "people's controllers" catch some poor wretch with a few pounds of potatoes in his rucksack. He loses the lot, and can call himself lucky if he is not hauled off to prison.

In "model" Saxony the thing is done in style and there is an "auxiliary" police force just as in the days of Hitler, but this time it consists of members of the "Unity" Party, who go about their job —which chiefly consists of confiscating potatoes brought in by "hoarders"—wearing white armlets to indicate their authority.

The freedom of the individual is being more and more limited as the tentacles of the party State close tighter and tighter round all spheres of public—and private—life in the Eastern Zone. For instance, when the members of the Factory Council of the A.E.G. Works in Henningsdorf threatened to organize a strike against the intolerable conditions in the works, they were promptly arrested. Then there is the very wide field of "voluntary" action—voluntary, that is, under compulsion. The older pupils of the Bautzen High School had to volunteer to shift coal, partly for the "People's Solidarity Movement" and partly to provide their own school with fuel. Those who were too young to take part in the hard work had

to surrender their lunches—"voluntarily", of course—as a "heavy-worker supplement" to the others. Conditions in the Eastern Zone are approximating more and more closely to those in the Soviet paradise itself, and it is a joy to be alive.

Berlin is to be "Softened Up"

Berlin is the chief thorn in the side of the Russians and their "Unity" Party henchmen, and a never-ending source of political embarrassment. When the Soviet conquerors first planted their flag on the Brandenburger Tor it was, as far as they were concerned, for good. When they found that their "Unity" Party Quislings got very little support from the population of Berlin, and particularly when the municipal elections of September 20th, 1946, ended so badly for them and demonstrated that although Berlin was still red it was very far from bolshevist, they began to put on the screw. From that moment on, Berlin and the Berliners were in disgrace. Berlin is largely dependent on the surrounding countryside for its food, and gradually all sorts of complications, delays and bureaucratic chicanery turned it into a beleaguered fortress. The Berlin authorities were not even allowed to bring in the production of their own farms outside the city. The governments of the Laender in the Eastern Zone, which are, as we have seen, all in the pockets of the Soviet Military Authority, began to punish the Berliners for their failure to appreciate the delights of Bolshevism by cutting off their food supplies on various pretexts. The Russian representatives in the Berlin Kommandantur naturally found there was nothing they could do to overcome "the difficulties".*

Just as the Soviet Government deliberately and as a matter of policy obstructs the political and economic unification of Germany, so the veto of her representative in Berlin prevents any agreement on the constitutional position of the former Reich's capital and sabotages economic unification even within the town limits. The Russian refusal to confirm the election of the Social Democrat, Dr. Reuter, as Lord Mayor of Berlin was part of the same policy. "Smoke the Reactionaries out of their holes!" was the exhortation of Colonel Tiulpanov at the congress of his "Unity" Party satellites in September 1947. But where ordinary people can still open their mouths and express their feelings in secret voting that is easier said than done. If it were technically possible for the Russians to surround their sector of Berlin with a high wall and cut it off completely from the West, they would do so.

In the meantime, however, the Russians are doing their utmost to

* The above was written before the full blockade was established and countered by the air lift.—Tr.

achieve the same result. The library of the Centre for Current History, founded in 1945 to collect scientific documentation to facilitate the study of contemporary conditions, which consisted of 30,000 books and a great number of newspaper files, pamphlets, photographs, etc., was seized by the Russians and carted off without waiting for the decision of the Inter-Allied Kommandantur, which alone had the right to dispose of it. An American gift of 15,000 scientific books for libraries in the Eastern Sector was rejected by the Russians. The Students Sport Group at Berlin University has been forbidden by the S.M.A. to use sports fields situated in the British Sector, and its members told to use only places in the Russian Sector. Unfortunately for the University it is situated in the Russian Sector, and it is being treated as though it were a close Russian preserve. Not a word may be spoken or a thing be done in its precincts without the permission of the S.M.A. and its "Unity" Party watchdogs. Half the lecturers have been appointed primarily because they are considered "politically house clean", and the bolshevist-drilled "Unity" Party Students Group is filling the "People's University" with so-called "worker-students" and other candidates to its liking.

There is still a certain amount of opposition in the Students' Council, but it is gradually being ground out of existence by intimidation, threats, arrests, "disappearances" and so on. The fate of a member of the Students Council named Alfred Klein was a clear warning to others to think twice before attempting to oppose the bolshevization of their university. Klein was arrested and tried secretly before a Russian court-martial on a charge of having maintained connections with "American quarters". He was sentenced to ten years forced labour.

The cutting off of food supplies is not the only measure taken by the Russians to "soften up" Berlin for the final seizure. The supply of current for light and power comes from the Soviet Sector, and this has been greatly reduced in direct violation of an agreement that all Sectors should be equally supplied.

The question of fuel supplies for the winter offered a further possibility of exercising pressure. The Central Kommandantur of the Russian Sector instructed the municipalities to organize the cutting of 650,000 cubic metres of timber in the Mark Brandenburg and in Mecklenburg for winter fuel. On September 15th, 1947, General Kotikov ordered that work should begin immediately on 150,000 cubic metres. The local Mayors organized labour gangs and sent them to the place indicated, only to discover that for miles around there was nowhere for them to be quartered. At the same time the mooring places for the barges for transporting the timber were miles away. The tools provided were also found to be inade-

quate, and in addition timber-cutting and transport for Russian needs interfered with and held up the work, particularly as nothing like the promised transport facilities were made available. Many men engaged on the work had no proper boots, but a request for supplies of clogs was turned down by the Russians. The promised production premiums were distributed in the form of ladies' shoes, children's slippers and carpet slippers.

Then suddenly, on October 23rd, General Kotikov warned the Social-Democratic Mayors of Berlin-Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg that unless the work radically improved within ten days they would be removed from their posts and replaced by Russian nominees. At the same time the "Unity" Party Press launched a fierce campaign against "Social-Democratic incompetence", and when those who were attacked defended themselves by stating the facts, they were accused of "anti-Soviet incitement". A few days later Mayor Ella Kay learned through the medium of the Press that she had been removed from her post "for sabotage of the winter-fuel supply action and adopting a provocative attitude towards the Soviet Kommandantur". She was replaced, of course, by a nominee of the "Unity" Party.

This instance is typical of the game played with divided roles by the Russians and their "Unity" Party stooges. The Russians issue orders which cannot be executed; the failure to execute them is then followed by rebukes and threats, coupled with a demagogic campaign of abuse from the "Unity" Party. Berlin's winter fuel supply was exploited for a political drive against the Social Democratic Party.

Since the breakdown of the London Conference, the Russians have increased their pressure. From December 15th, 1947, all motor traffic entering Berlin from the Western Zone required a special Russian permit. Furniture and other property can no longer be moved out of the Russian Sector, and any attempt to do so is punishable by heavy fines and confiscation. Even Allied military and supply trains have been held up in the corridor and unsealed. And in the meantime the Russian officious *Taegliche Rundschau* reveals the aim of the whole campaign by demanding a revision of the status of Berlin. In short, the democratic western oasis in the Soviet Eastern desert is to be eliminated. If the Russians get their way it will be a catastrophe for the great majority of Berliners and a heavy blow at the prestige of the Western Powers.

Education as a Means of Isolation

The process of *Gleichschaltung* in the Eastern Zone does not spare the cultural sphere, and it applies in particular to the educa-

tional system. The new task of the ordinary schools is to educate the children in "a bolshevist spirit," whilst the High Schools are expected to turn out a new batch of "reliable" intelligentsia. The absolutely necessary technical training and general education required in a modern State are to be inculcated without teaching the youth to think critically. Eastern Zone pedagogy sets out to provide a minimum of knowledge without encouraging any inquiry into the whys and the wherefores of it; to systematize education; and to cram the Russian revolutionary catechism into the heads of all pupils. Russian is a compulsory subject even in elementary schools, and the speeches of Stalin are the basis for the teaching.

In order to give the elementary school (which all pupils without exception must attend) the necessary tendentious twist, the new authorities first found it necessary to "screen" the old teaching personnel. The old "reactionary" elements were dismissed and replaced by hurriedly trained recruits loyal to the new regime. Needless to say, many of the former teachers really were thoroughly reactionary, but for the Russians and their henchmen the term conveniently covers everyone who disagrees with them in the slightest. We have already seen "people's judges" being turned out on the moving-band principle, and the same system is used for producing "people's teachers". Candidates between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, usually of working-class origin, go through a quick course, lasting from six to eight months, during which the absolute minimum considered necessary is drummed into them, and they pass out "teachers." By the end of 1947, 43,000 of these new teachers were already at work in the schools. Obviously, their training is of the sketchiest, and this is recognized to some extent by the authorities, who have arranged extension courses at the universities to supplement their training and fill in the very broad gaps in their knowledge and education.

All these new teachers must be members of an anti-Fascist political party, and as they are left in no doubt as to which party card is the one most likely to further their prospects, it is clear that their teaching will have the appropriate "slant". To make assurance doubly sure, the authorities exercise a close and searching control over the schools and their curricula, so that everything is now well under control for the work of turning the youth of the Eastern Zone into Soviet patriots. Some idea of the type of education given to the children can be gained from a text-book printed in five million copies in Leipzig for the use of lower classes. Almost every lesson is illustrated by some military example: "A" is for "Anti-aircraft gun", and so on. Tanks attack, drums roll, rifles fire, wounded men are brought in, etc.

At the beginning of 1946 a law for introducing "democracy" into the schools was adopted simultaneously by all five Laender in the Eastern Zone. It provides that every young person, irrespective of social or racial origin or confession, shall be entitled to education in accordance with his talents and capacities. That sounds very democratic and progressive indeed, but as is always the case when anything sounds all right in the Eastern Zone, there is a catch in it. "Social circumstances" have to be considered when the specially talented are chosen for higher education. The State—that is to say, the "Unity" Party—does the considering and choosing. Its representatives have a majority on all the committees which consider applications for higher education, and we have already seen one or two examples in this book of how they go about their task. The percentage of children from middle-class families who may receive higher education is limited, and children whose fathers were formerly Army officers, or even members of the "Stahlhelm", are not eligible. It is therefore quite clear that the consideration of "social circumstances" means that the great majority of children to receive higher education will be from Communist or other "socially reliable" families.

Further, in order to increase the proletarian contingent at institutions for higher education, fourteen continuation schools have been founded to train factory workers and others in one-year courses to prepare them to enter high schools. Whoever belongs to the "non-party" Free German Youth naturally has the best chance. It is as yet too early to say whether this newly-forced intelligentsia is likely to bring about the Russification of German intellectual life its patrons intend.

Higher education in the Eastern Zone is faced with one very great difficulty. With the exception of doctors, all teachers, lecturers, professors and so on who were Nazis—and most of them were: they had to be, or else—have been dismissed, and the very attenuated teaching body that still remains is diminishing still further by the migration of teachers to the Western Zone. The true spirit of inquiry can no more develop in the bolshevist strait-jacket than it could in Hitler's. When more and more professors were arrested, many of those who were still at liberty decided to emigrate in order to remain so. In their place came protégés of the regime, many of whom had not even passed their State examinations. At the same time the conferment of the doctorate *honoris causa* on prominent Communists "for services rendered" was so widely practised that it threatened to turn the time-honoured institution into a farce, and even the Russians, by no means particular in such matters, were compelled to intervene and put a stop to the abuse.

A very prominent feature of Soviet "cultural policy" in the Eastern Zone is the seizure of works of art as "war booty" and their removal to the Soviet Union. For instance, no fewer than 1,700 paintings, many of them of world-renown, such as the Raffael's Sistine Madonna, Giorgione's Venus, Corregio's Holy Night, Mantegna's Holy Family, and many Titians, van Eycks, Cranachs, Holbeins, Dürers, Rembrandts and other works of great masters, have been carted away from Dresden galleries alone. Berlin has lost the famous Pergamon Altar, all its antique statuary, the contents of the numismatic museum, and much else besides.

In short, the Soviet Government is doing exactly what Hitler did, but much more thoroughly, though when he did it the Soviet Government was righteously indignant.

Many village greens in the Eastern Zone have been turned into Russian military cemeteries. The local Communists, as the third arm of the occupation authorities, have launched a wave of iconoclasm against all the monuments of the past. Not only Bismarck, Moltke and Roon, but all former rulers of Germany and great historical personages have lost their monuments. In many cases they have been replaced by pictures and busts of Lenin, Stalin and Wilhelm Pieck. In Moscow's view there is not a single good feature in Germany's historical past; it is just one shameful blot, useful only by contrast to enhance the glorious historical and cultural traditions of the Slav East. That all good German Communists are enthusiastically taking part in this ruthless campaign of denigration and extermination leaves just one more bad taste in the mouth.

Penetration to the Point of Absorption

The Russian occupation authorities in the Eastern Zone are working hard to seal it off completely from the outer world, so that behind the Iron Curtain they can more easily crush all resistance from within and bolshevize Eastern Germany without protest from without in the shortest possible space of time. However, there is one dangerously contradictory element in the process. In order to subordinate the Eastern Zone completely to the needs of the Russian State, the rulers in the Kremlin are compelled to adopt measures which increasingly rouse the hostility of the German inhabitants of the Zone against them. This applies in particular to the working class, which is hard hit by dismantling, the "direction" of labour and forced labour. In the circumstances the work of political penetration by propaganda and enticement is thrown hopelessly out of gear. In the pursuit of its aims the Russian occupation authority is compelled to apply more and more onerous means, with the result that its hopes of winning the masses of the inhabitants over to its side are

dwindling rapidly, whilst the effectiveness of its propaganda progressively declines. The Kremlin can indulge to its heart's content in its favourite sport of scapegoat hunting, and consider—as it did at the time of Marshal Beria's visit to Berlin in August 1947—the replacement of the whole Russian occupation personnel by new men, but that will make no difference at all to the development of affairs. The Russians have many native helpers, stooges and yes-men, but very few friends on whom they can really rely, whilst their own people are, with very few exceptions, utterly ignorant of Western conditions of life and helpless when they come up against them.

Moscow's fixed objective in the Eastern Zone is quite clear: ideological *Gleichschaltung* and economic penetration to the point of complete absorption. But the ultimate fate of the Eastern Zone is only one part of the great complex of questions with which the world is already faced, and which one day it will have, willynilly, to solve. The fate of Eastern Germany is part and parcel of the fate of the whole Western world.

POSTSCRIPT

SINCE THE above collection of facts was concluded nothing has changed in principle in the Eastern Zone. And, indeed, how could anything change in principle under a system in which the exercise of power is made identical with the employment of violence? But in the meantime the struggle for Berlin has increased in ruthlessness and intensity, and every new day brings further news of the enslavement and humiliation of the inhabitants of the Eastern Zone. They are not formally treated as slaves by the victors, but in practice their situation is very little different from that of slaves.

The arrests, the kidnappings and the "disappearances" are continuing. Only a short while back the United States Military Government published a long list of "disappearances" which had taken place in Berlin in the course of a few months, and in the great majority of cases it was perfectly clear that the victims had been kidnapped by Russians or their agents.

The merciless exploitation of the workers continues, too. All the old means are still in force: piece-work and the whiplash of hunger. The workers have no real incentive to work for the progressive Sovietization and subjugation of their country. "From mining to tool-making; from the porcelain cup to the technicolour film, it is all production for Russia without being reckoned to reparations account."

How much is still left in German hands of the coal-mining, potash and iron-ore industries, precision mechanics and optics, chemicals, cement, metallurgy and engineering? One hundred and twenty-six Soviet joint-stock companies organized into thirty-one trusts provide a striking answer to that question.

A fraudulent agitation is still going on ostensibly in favour of liberty and justice, and a democratic Germany, but in the mouths of the rulers of Eastern Germany and their hangers-on such words are a sham; like the "Liberation Celebration" in Buchenwald, they are a mockery of the victims.

And every alleged demand of the people is a farce, just as it was in Hitler's Third Reich. A rotten tree can produce nothing but rotten fruit, and that will remain so until the day when words like liberty and justice have recovered their old meaning, even in the Eastern Zone.

Hamburg, July 1948.

INDEX

ABSENTEEISM, committee for combating, 23; "show" trials, 64–5; "notorious" absentees to be ejected from homes, 67; "custody camp" for incorrigible absentees, 105; Sokolovski Order No. 234, 301–6
Accident rate, in forced labour, 185–6; in uranium mines, 192–3
Adelsdorf, in Markkleeberg, "New" peasants in, not permitted to resign from "Unity", 53
Administration, methods of, 212 *et seq.*
Administrative appointments, all to be approved by Russians, 49
Advertisements, censorship of, 154
A.E.G. Bautzen, production quota and charges of sabotage, 218
Age groups for forced labour, 188
Agents provocateurs, 147–8
Agricultural produce deliveries, S.M.A. order in Brandenburg, 103–4
Agriculture: collectivization and Kolkhoz system glorified in films, 31; "free peak" produce, 103; arrests for "sabotage" in Grimma, 107–8; surplus produce claimed by Russia, 117; in Saxony, 118–21; declining yield, 118–19; exploitation and neglect in war, 119; Soviet system established, 120; delivery quotas, 149, 150, 214, 221 *et seq.* (*and see* Quotas); hampered by shortages, 169, 170; forced labour from towns for Spring work, 181–2; under "Land Reform", 226 *et seq.*; fate of produce, 233–5; co-operative system, 292; machinery sent to Russia, 296; losses of State management, 300
Ahrend, Mayor, record of, 144 *et seq.*
Albert, Mayor of Falkenberg, abuse of authority, 109
Albruschat, Edith, arrested, 271
Alexander, Public Prosecutor, and "show" trial at dismantling of Brabag Works, 65; and the trial of Prodehl, 129
Alsace-Baden Wool Co., Forst, expropriation of, 71
Altenberg tin mines dismantled, 115
Altenhain, concentration camp in, 255
Altmann, a witness in the Buettner Case, 81
Altstrelitz prison, kidnapped youths in, 267
American army withdrawn under Yalta agreement, 48
American zone, fugitives from East, 200
Anhalt, Duchy of, 126
Annaberg uranium mines, 186, 190–1; evacuation of local inhabitants, 195
"Anti-Fascist Block", Communist dominated, 15; membership and functions, 15–16; not a coalition, 16; camouflage for one-party system, 16
"Anti-Fascist Democrats", 21
Anti-Fascist Joint Committee, 18
Anti-Fascist Propaganda Groups, 15
Ardahan district, 286
Army officers, a privileged class, 49
Arrest, "protective", 33; on mass scale, 105
Arrest, technique of, 106
Arrests: of Landraete proposed, to trick peasants, 51; for non-fulfilment of delivery quotas, 104, 230; of political opponents, 105; illegal, 127; during General Registration in Mecklenberg, 168; arbitrary, 263–5; of young people, 267–8
Arson, in Mecklenberg, 159
Artisans, difficulties of, 137
Art, creative, to be "cleansed", 32–3
Artists, a privileged class in Russia, 49; obliged to belong to League of Culture, 52
Askania Works, Friedrichshagen, mechanics deported, 204
Assembly centres for forced labour, conditions in, 185
Assets, real, frozen, 292
Astor, Vice-President of Thuringian Credit Bank, in concentration camp, 271
Auch, Fritz, arrested and maltreated, 165–6
Aue Prison, dismantled by Russians, 76
Aue uranium mines, 186; forced labour from Dresden, 189; report of a forced labourer in, 191–2; food at, 192–4; evacuation of local inhabitants, 195; conditions at, 196
Auer, Town Councillor, arrested and tortured, 268–9
Auer Gas Light Company, seized and confiscated, 93

Auerbach, failure to deliver quota of forced labour, 189
"Aufbauverlag" publishing house, 27
August Ebery textile works, Auerbach, expropriation of, 72
Auslese, circulation prohibited, 28
Austrian sections of anti-fascist P.O.W. schools, 36
Autotransportgemeinschaft der Kraftverkehr Sachsen A.G., in control of Saxon transport, 118
Azerbaidjan, Persian, 286

Bad Berka, training school for leaders at, 26
Baer, Kurt, prisoner of war, arrested and sent to forced labour on return from England, 273
Balenstadt, election threats at, 47
Bandit raids, 248 *et seq.*
Bank notes, new, 292
Banks, closed and replaced by State institutions, 118
Bansemer, called up for labour duties, 177
Barracks for forced labour, 179–80, 182
Barter of industrial goods for agricultural products negotiated by F.D.G.B., 50
Bartsch, Frau, aged 83, raped to death, 239
Bass, Wolfgang, kidnapped and deported, to Urals, 206; evidence after escape, 206
Bauer, Ministerial Director, held up and robbed, 253
Baumann, a boxer, held up and robbed, 252
Bautsen, concentration camp in, 255, 257, 260; executions at, 260
Bautzen, a citizen of, arrested and interrogated for reading Berlin *Telegraf*, 27
Bavarian Motor Works, production for Red Army, 296
Bayerische Motorenwerke, Eisenach, directors arrested for sabotage, 218
Beating of Buettner in Kottbus prison, 79
Beatings and brutalities committed by Red Army, 237
Bebra, camp for fugitives, 202
Bechler, Bernhard, Minister of Interior, Mark Brandenberg, recruited to Communist Party, 38; on political duty of people's judges, 62; misuse of office, 100
Becker, Bernd, leader of "Youth Union", arrested, 20
Beda, Vice-Landrat of Grimma, arrest for sabotage, 107–8, 109
Beeskow area deprived of food after elections, 48
Behle, Karl, arrested, 268
Benjamin, Frau, on "bourgeois judges", 58
Benjamin, Frau Ministerial Director, attack on impartial justice, 73
"Bergbau", Saxon industrial undertaking, 116
Bergold, Councillor, sentenced for theft of food, 110
Beria, Marshal, visit to Berlin, 316
Berlep, Privy Councillor, convictions for housebreaking, 126
Berlin: Municipal elections (Oct. 1946), 14–15; opposition to Kuelz crushed, 18; fire in L.D.D. headquarters, 20; movement for free trade unions (1945), 22; freedom in newspaper and book publishing, 27; wireless station, 30; savagery of Red Army in, 239; to be "softened up", 310–12
Berlin-Lichtenberg, adolescent girl of, raped to death, 239
Berliner Stadtkontor, 292
Bevin, Ernest, on fugitives from Soviet Zone, 202; on value of "reparations" taken by Soviet Union, 295–6
Bible Students Association prohibited, 44
Biesanthal, Police School at, 74
Billeting, compulsory, in uranium districts, 195–6
Biellussov, Major, Chief of Chancellery of S.M.A., Saxony, 220
Bitterfeld, electro-chemical combine, employment of prisoners at, 68; recruitment of forced labour for dismantling in, 182
Black market, 43, 82–4, 123, 140, 146, 151, 171; committee for combating activities in, 23; "show" trial in Saxony, 66–7; in petrol, 73; Fandrich and offences in, 92; activities of Russians in, 106
Blanka Works, Dippoldiswalde, dismantled, 116
Bleschke, a policeman, attacked by drunken Russian officer, 253
"Block Wardens", 274
Blue Limousine Gang, Berlin (1945–6), 94–5, 100
Bock, a "People's Lawyer", 74; Public Prosecutor in Neuruppin, 87
Boehlen power station dismantled, 115
Boernicke estate confiscated, 34
Bogatyrov, Arkadi, kidnapped, 266
Bohemia, Nazi protectorate of, 40
Bohlmann, Herr, of Saxon Diet, escape of, 20
Bohrmann, Bruno, peculiar confession of murder by, 83–4
Bolle, assistant of Landrat Reckenberg, 129 *et seq.*

Bolshevization, of justice, 61; of Mecklenberg, 153
Bolzmann, Judge, removed from office for criminal offences, 102
Books, confiscation of, 133; for Russia, produced in German printing works, 296
Booksellers, expropriation of, 32
Bookshops, and "Unity" propaganda, 51
Bornholm fishing grounds spoilt by Russians, 173
Bourgeois parties = L.D.P. and C.D.U. *q.v.*
Brabag Works (Magdeburg), "show" trial at dismantling, 65
Bradenahl, robbed by criminal officials, 161
Brambach uranium mines, 186
Brandeburg, Herr and Frau, subject to criminal threats, 161
Brandenburg: recruiting members of F.D.G.B., 24; judicial innovations, 62; lawlessness in, 102–3; peasants deported, 229; violence of Red Army in, 239
Brandenburg prison, 95
Brandenburg "reception" camp for returning prisoners of war, 273
Brauer, Mayor of Hamburg, 262
Braunkohlen-Benzin A.G., dismantled, 139
Bread, coarse grain used for, 136–7; bakers accused of sabotage, 219
Bredl, Willi, leader of League of Culture, 155–6
Breitmeyer, Willi, "Unity" trade unionist, and labour conditions in uranium mines, 198
Bretternitz, Mayor of Ranitz, in concentration camp, 272
Breweries, in Saxe-Anhalt, 136
Brewery copper vats dismantled, 168
Bribery, system of, in kind, 50; of Russian officers, 91–2
British Zone, fugitives from East, 200
"Brown hordes", 154
Brueggen, Martin, Mayor of Colwitz-Perita, a blackmailer, 110
Buchenwald concentration camp, 81; re-opened, 142, 254, 255; evidence of escaped prisoners, 259–60; "Liberation Celebration" in, 317
Bucholz uranium mines, 186
Buchwitz, Otto, "Unity" President of Saxon Diet, on wages of uranium miners, 196
Budget, in Mecklenburg, 158
Buergel, Herr, Chairman of L.D.P. in Dresden, "voluntary" resignation of, 18
Buerger, Kurt, Mecklenburg "Unity" leader, 153
Buettner murder case, 43, 56, 58, 78–82, 102
"Building plan" for new settlers under Land Reform, 227
Building trade without coal, 116
Burbach Potash Works, staff arrested as hostages against sabotage, 218
Bureaucracy, in Mecklenburg, 157–9
Burg, expropriation of firm in, 71
Burger, Dr., an agent of Soviet News Bureau, reports of, 281
Busch A.G., Bautsen, production for reparations, 300
Butter, used to dubbin boots or make soap for Red Army, 234
Byeloussov, Lieut.-Colonel, 42

Call-up for labour duties, procedure and forms, 177–81, 188
Camburg: Training School for leaders, 26; election speeches censored, 46
Camp, special, at Mansfeld, for "noxious" elements, 68. *And see* Concentration camps.
"Camps, custody", in Saxony, 105
Canning works, production for reparations, 169
Capitalism, encouraged by German Communists after death of Hitler, 40–1
"Capitalists", fair game for Russian soldiers, 245–8
Caritas League, Berlin, report on condition of girls in Ruedersdorf D.P. camp, 240
Cars, drivers of, robbed and murdered, 252
Cartographic industry, all maps for Red Army, 296
Catholic Youth Organizations: arrest and disappearance of members, 26
Cattle, lost through starvation, 151
Cattle-breeders, method of fixing quotas for, 223
C.D.U. (Christian Democratic Union), "permitted" by S.M.A., 15; under strict surveillance, 17–18; not "bolshevist" enough, 17, 18–19; and Jakob Kaiser, 19; young officials undergo Russian instruction, 19; escape of leaders, 20; subjugated by force, 20; under directorium of Russia, 20; newspapers restricted, 28; editorial staffs replaced by "loyal" men, 29; registration of branches prevented, 45; in elections for Students Council, Leipzig, 54; judges belonging to, 58; denunciation of judge members, 72; denounced in Bernau municipal elections, 101–3; and Constitution of Thuringia, 152
Censorship, 17–18; replaced for newspapers by Council for Ideological

Questions, 29; scope of, 30–1; of election speeches, 46; of newspapers, 47; of letters, 122, 152, 198, 273–4
Central Administration of the Interior (German G.P.U.), 33, 39
Central Administration for Military Affairs: leaders of, 35
Central Administration for Soviet Property Abroad, in control of large-scale German industry, 139–40
Central Administration of Thuringian State Undertakings in Dresden, 113
Central Administration for Trade and Supplies: records of officials, 52
Central Committee of the Russian Bolshevist Party, 36
Central German Commission, and expropriations, 72
Central Legal Administration, Berlin, 56; and "show" trial, 65; and case of Hans Klos, 106
Central and local News Offices, permission of, required for printing, 30–1
Central Party School, Liebenwalde, 36
Central School for Leadership, 26
Central Soviet Military Authority, and "Unity" purges, 56
Centrale Sanitaire Suisse, Communist organization, 297
Chemical industry: dismantling in Saxe-Anhalt, 138–41
Chemists, deported, 203
Chemnitz, distribution of rationed goods by F.D.G.B., 50; purge of barristers, 57; "custody camp" at, 105; electricity works, 114; industrial breakdown, 116; labour from textile factories taken for mines, 189
Chemnitz prison, conditions in, 76
Chesny, Herr, 85, 86
Chief Administration of Soviet Property Abroad, 293
Children: Education and training for democracy, 26; under-nourished in Thuringia, 151; of "reactionary parents", 158–9; of "Old" peasants, 228; rape of, 237; witnesses of mothers' rape, 237; disappearance of, 238; starving, 238; in concentration camps, 261; missing, 267
Chmielevsky, official, guilty of misuse of office, 102–3
Christian Democratic Union. *See* C.D.U.
Church bells melted to make statue of Stalin, 288
Church services, spies at, 277
Cigarettes used for exchange, 297–8
Cinema programmes, censorship of, 154
Cinema proprietors, compelled to show Russian films, 32
Cinemas, travelling, for propaganda films in villages, 31
Civil causes, 61
Class distinctions in Baltic seaside resorts, 171
Clayton, U.S. Under-Secretary of State, 286–7
Clothing, for privileged, 49; of prisoners, 76; shortages, 169–70; of forced labourers in uranium mines, 200; makers of, charged with sabotage, 220; standard of, for children, 234
Coach service, Saxon, dismantled and confiscated, 122
Coal: for Saxon State railways, 121; brown-coal of Saxe-Anhalt, 138; shipped to Russia, 172; imported, 291
Coal-briquette works dismantled, 115
Coal imports proposed by Selbmann, 116
Coal-mines, dismantling of, 115, 182, 185; hours of work in mines, 307–8
Collectivization of land and forced labour, 175; hated by "Old" peasants. *And see* Agriculture; Land Reform; Peasants.
"Cominform", 285
Committees to bolster bolshevist activities, 15
Communist Party: domination of "Unity" Party by, 14; recruitment and training of new members, 35, 36; passing out examination questions, 36–7; oath taken by graduates, 37; announcements made after Hitler's death, 40–1; fully supported in Western zones by Russian subsidies, 51
Communist vote manipulated in elections, 21–2
Communists: in concentration camps, 13; in resistance groups, 13; rebuff to Social Democrats (1945), 13; abuse of power by, 14; somersault on "Unity" question, 14; "fractions" in non-party organizations, 21; return of German, from exile, 34–5; discipline and Party loyalty, 35; many disappointed, 39; trained for all posts, 49; high privileges for officials, 50; in control in Mecklenburg, 153 *et seq.*; mud-slinging by, 101–3
Concentration camps, 13, 168; Communist survivors of Hitler's, 35; Social Democrats in, 39; conditions of "directed labour" in, 66; system of, in Soviet, 75; taken over by Russians, 88, 89, 91; full of Socialists, 124; the new law, 138; use of, 155; arrested persons sent to, 208; list of, 254–5; like Hitler's 255–61; German officials in, 271–2; threat of to those refusing to spy for N.K.V.D., 278–80

Conditions in March, 1947, 44–5; of work, 140–1. *And see* Forced labour; Hours of work.
Conference of Premiers, Munich: "Unity" Party majority obtained by trickery, 21
Confessions, extorted by beatings and torture, 79, 96, 135, 164–6; "peculiar", of Bohrmann, 82–4; in concentration camps, 256
"Confidants", internal spy organization of, 277–8
Confiscations, by Red Army, 41; during elections, 46; of passengers' goods at stations, 74–5; by Fandrich, 92; by Blue Limousine gang, 95; of property moved for safety, 97; of property, 100; in Saxony, 106–7; in Grossthiemig, 109; in Zwickau, 110; of raw materials stored for safety, 117; illegal, 144–5, 166–7; by criminal officials, 160–2; by "right of conquest", 167–71; of peasants' holdings for quota delivery failure, 222; of timber required for new settlers under land reform, 227; of livestock to furnish a show village, 227; of food by Red Army, 237; of railway sleepers, 295
"Confiscations" Department, Potsdam, 95
Conspiracy: Communist conception of, 21
Constitution, "by order", in Thuringia, 151–2
Control Commission Law No. 10 for crimes against humanity, 68
Control Council: Order No. 55 on newspaper circulation, 27; Order No. 3 ignored by bolshevists, 106
Co-operative Bank for Trade and Commerce, Saxony, 118
Co-operative Retail Stores, 15; distribution of rationed goods by, 50; for privileged persons in Halle, 141; heads of, responsible for safety of stores, 213
Co-operatives in Saxony, 118
Copper mines, labour from special camp of "noxious" elements, 68; in Saxe-Anhalt, 138
Corruption, widespread, 39, 44; of Saxon Communist mayors, 110; in Saxe-Anhalt, 126 *et seq.*
Court-martial, threatened at Kottbus sterilization trials, 69
Courts: Purge at Guben, 42–3; under occupation authorities, 56; verdicts governed by political considerations, 68–71; public excluded from trials, 70; and membership of "Unity", 73–4; ignored in Red Saxony, 106; in Saxe-Anhalt, 132; forbidden to inquire into validity of laws, 152; and indictments for sabotage, 209
Courts of Appeal, and judgments of People's Judges, 60
"Courts of Honour" in Soviet factories; 67
Courts, Mobile Peasant, 67
Courts, People's Judgment, at Roedgen village, 67–8
Courts, special, 67–8
Courts, summary, for "wreckers" of "plan", 222
Credit institutions, closed by S.M.A.D., 118
"Crimes against humanity", 68–71
Crimes against population, 236–82; "The women suffered most", 236–40; victims are threatened, 241–5; "Capitalists" are fair game, 245–8; marauding bands, 248–51; nothing like it since the Thirty Years War, 251–4; grisly finds, 254; concentration camps, 254–61; the spy scare, 261–3; arbitrary arrests, 263–5; raids into Western Zone, 265–6; missing youths, 267–8; stool-pigeons and torture, 268–70; "whoever does not go with us will be liquidated", 270–2; prisoners-of war from West are suspected, 272–3; Esperantists are suspected, 273–4; spies and eavesdroppers everywhere, 274–5; the "I.F.O.", 275–7; "Confidants", 277–8; press-gang methods to recruit spies, 278–80; the Octopus, 280–2
Criminals: released by Red Army, 75; put in positions of authority, 75; as "Victims of Fascism", 95–6; in office under "Unity", 109–10; put into power, 126 *et seq.*, 160 *et seq.*; in Mecklenburg after collapse, 159; created by Russian forced-labour system, 202–3
Cultural League for Democratic Revival, 15
Culture: in leading strings, 27–31
"Custody camps" in Saxony, 105
Currency questions, 292–3
Czechoslovakia, steel imported from, 116

Dahlem, Frank, director of Personnel Department, 34; "Unity" party leader, 51; proposal to arrest Landraete, 51
Daimler-Benz works, dismantled by forced labour, 176
Dairy delivery quotas, 232
Danisch, Detective-Sergeant, prisoners beaten by, 135
Dead bodies, found at zonal frontiers, 251 *et seq.*; of murdered victims, 254
Death-rate, in prisons, 110–11
Death sentences for forced labourers, 184; for sabotage, 209; for drunkenness, 217

Deaths, in forced-labour camps, 175; of girls, in Ruedersdorf camp, 240; at Torgau concentration camp, 258–9
Definitions: Sabotage and diversionary activity, 209–10
"Degenerate art", 31
Degenhardt, President of Saxon Provincial Bank, dismissal and flight of, 107
Dehne, a book-keeper, shot by Konrad, 127
Delivery quotas. *See* Quotas.
Demagogy, common to Nazi and Fascist, 51
Democracy: impossible in totalitarian system, 41
"Democratic Centralism", 14, 22–3
Democratic Women's League, 15
De-Nazification Commission, 87
Denmark, exports to, 296
Dental Clinic, Rostock, dismantled, 168
Department for Combating Social Democracy, 39
Deportations, of peasants trying not to surrender harvest, 51; of fugitives caught escaping from forced labour, 189; mass, 203–8; for failure to deliver quota, 223; of peasants, 228; of young people, 267–8; of returning prisoners of war, 273; from annexed territories, 285
Deposits, safety, valuables confiscated from, 292
"Dereliction", legal and Soviet conception of, 71
Der Freie Bauer, 229–30
Derunaphth, 298
Derutra, Soviet Russo-German transport undertaking, 172–3; employment of forced labour, 183
Deserters, from the Red Army, in marauding bands, 248 *et seq.*
Dessau sugar refinery dismantled, 139
Detective agencies, private, suppressed, 272
Detmold Court: trial of Joseph Konrad, 127
Deutschmann, Police-sergeant, and Buettner case, 81, 82
Dictation by occupation authorities, 103–4
Diedrich, case of, in Ruppin, 43, 102
Dietrich, Landrat, of Ruppin, 86–8
Directors of confiscated industry, 113–14
Dirnberger, chief of anti-corruption campaign, 110
Disappearances, 98, 99–100; of "reactionary judges", 106–7
Dismantling of factories: no discussion permitted, 17; election promises about, 47–8; "show" trial at Brabag works, 65; of prisons, 75–6; in Saxony, 114–16; of State railways, 121–2, 167–8; in Saxe-Anhalt, 138–41; in Mecklenburg, 168–9, 172; forced labour for, 176 *et seq.*; report of forced labour on, 179–80; statistics of forced labour for, 182; conditions of workers, 185; ignorance and stupidity of officers, 186; factories re-assembled in Russia, 207; discussion on banned by N.K.V.D., 286; problems of, and accumulations from, 294 *et seq.* *And see* Reparations.
Displaced persons in uranium mines, 194
Displaced Persons Camp, Ruedersdorf, conditions of girls in, 240
Distilleries, in Saxe-Anhalt, 136
Distribution of rationed goods, 50
"Diversionary activity", term used interchangeably with "sabotage", 209
Dockers, forced labourers as, 183
Dockyards dismantled, 168
Doctors, obliged to join F.D.G.B. (doctors' section), 52
Documents, "disappearance" of, 99, 101
Doebeln, expropriation in, 112
Doernberg, head of Mecklenburg Planning Office, 153, 154
Doernberg, Lieutenant, in Red Army, 154
Doll, Detective, search for arms by, 75
Dombrovski, General, and reign of terror in Saxony, 251
Domestic Administration and Planning, Mecklenburg Ministry of, 153
Donath, District Secretary of Communist Party, and the Buettner case, 78–82
Draught animals, 169
Dresden, distribution of rationed goods by F.D.G.B., 50; Provincial Legal Administration, 56; "custody" camp at, 105; Food Office controlled by a criminal, 110; forced labour for Auc, 189
Dresden insurrection, 1850: old law revived by "Unity" for arrest of political opponents, 105
Dresden-Neustadt, "model" living quarters for privileged classes, 50
Dreykorn, Landrat, and peasants failing to fulfil quotas, 223
Drinking orgies of guards of concentration camps, 256
Drunkenness of Red Army, 253
Drzymalla, once a convicted criminal, appointed Landrat, 160–2
Dubrovski, Major-General, Chief of S.M.A., Saxony, 108, 186, 220
Dudorov, Major-General, Chief of Staff, S.M.A., Saxony, 220

Eberhard, "Unity" Lord Mayor of Magdeburg, hostile reception of, at Sport Day, 53
Economic Commission, of Eastern Zone, 291
Economic leaders, a privileged class, 49
Economic unity, German, barriers against, 291–4
Education, bolshevist, aim of, 36; as a means of isolation, 312–15
Eggerath, Thuringian Minister, 34
Eibenstock uranium mines, 186
Eichholz, a film operator, legal immunity of, through "Unity", 74
Eisenberg: Election speeches censored, 46
Elections, Diet (1946), 16; "Unity" control obtained by trickery, 21–2; messages from prisoners of war in Soviet, 37–8; promises of "Unity", 47–8; and distribution of rationed goods, 50
Elections for Land-distribution Committees, 119
Elections, Municipal (Oct. 1946), 14–15; Works Councils Conference and, 24; Police search for arms, 75; Communist mud-slinging, 101–3; and forced labour, 177; followed by mass deportations in Berlin, 204
Elections for Students Council, University of Leipzig, 54
Electric power, shortage of, 169
Electrical industry dismantled, 115, 139
Emigrés, German political, and desire for anti-fascist unity, 13
Employment, confined to Unity members in many factories and offices, 51–2
"Enemies of the people" in forced labour camps, 175
"Enemy aliens" from Western sectors seized for forced labour, 184
Engel, Judge, 163
Engineering, difficulties in Saxony, 116; and reparations, 117
Engineers, in Soviet zone, 186; deported, 203
Enskat, Chief Public Prosecutor, and Mecklenburg sterilization trials, 69–70
Epidemics at Buchenwald, 259; at other camps, 260
Erfurt Food Office, head of, tried for irregularities, 64
Erzgebirge, the uranium mines in, 186–200
Escapes, of men "called up" for forced labour, 189; from Aue, 192
Escher, Steiner & Co., clothing manufacturers, fined for "sabotage", 220
Espenhain mines, machinery dismantled, 115
Esperantists are suspected, 273–4
Espionage, candidates for, 38; by N.K.V.D., 42; the spy scare, 261–3. *And see* Spies.
Executions, mass, by Red Army in Koenigsberg, 237; on route of conquering Red Army, 239; in concentration camps, 260
Executive powers in civilized States, 55
Executors appointed to administer expropriated businesses, 71–2
Expenditure, State, in Mecklenburg, 158
Exploitation, reckless, in Saxony, 117–18
Export and Import Trading Co., Dresden, a façade for S.M.A.D. exports, 117
Export business, conduct of, 117, 118
Exportljon, a Soviet monopoly, 173, 297
Exports from Mecklenburg for Soviet Union, 172–3; for "hard currency", 296–7
"Express jurists", 59–60
Expropriation Committees, composition of, 112
Expropriation referendum, Saxony, 112
Expropriations, of cinema proprietors, 32; by "Unity" Party, 34; arbitrary, 71–2; private, by "Unity" members, 73; official, for private advantage, 84–6; in Mecklenburg, 156; of small industries, 158; mass, 207–8; for "sabotage", 220; of peasants, for quota failures, 222; under "Land Reform", 226; illegal, 264; from "politically compromised", 299
Eulenberg, Count, expropriated, 34
Evacuation of local inhabitants from uranium districts, 194–9
Eyermann, Deputy, on independent judicature, 152

Fabian, a peasant, shot by Konrad, 127
Factories: control and surveillance by "Unity" Party, 24; subsidies for "Youth Groups", 25; employees forced to join "Unity", 51–2; special courts to fight absenteeism, 67; employment of prisoners, 68; ordered to produce labour for mines, 189
Factory Councils, Berlin, protests of, 307
Fahlberg-List A.G., dismantled, 139
Fandrich, "Judge", 56, 58, 102; magistrate of Oranienburg, guilty of many illegalities, 88–93; "expropriations" ordered by, 207–8
Farmers, sentenced for unfulfilled delivery quotas, 130
Farming, burden of registration and quotas proposed, 221; instructions given by inexperienced officials. *And see* Agriculture; Peasants.

Farms, occupied by Red Army, 168
Fascists, treated with consideration by Russians and "Unity", 39; Russian definition of, 40; political methods of, 51
Fatalities, in forced labour, 185–6; in uranium mines, 192–3
F.D.G.B. (= Free German Trade Union Federation), 15; included in anti-Fascist Block, 21; formation of (1945), 22; organization, 23; co-operation with "Unity", 23–4; functions, 23; privileges, 23; boosting membership, 24; a close imitation of Nazi "Labour Front", 24; distributing agency for bribes in kind, 50; obligatory membership, 52; at election of Students Council, Leipzig, 54; commended to employees of legal administration, 62; represented in mobile peasant courts, 67; suggestions for special factory courts, 67; and employment of women underground in mines, 198
F.D.J. (= Free German Youth), 15, 24–6; successor of "Hitler Youth", 24; privileges of members, 25; control of sport, 25; organization, 25; periodicals, 25; "Constitution", 25; membership obligatory, 52; subsidy to, 158
Fengler, called up for labour duties, 177
Fentzling, exposure of Zippert, 127–8
Fertilizers exported to Soviet, 172
Fiedler, a convicted criminal, appointed Mayor of Pennrich, 109
Films, control of, 31–3; standards of Russian films, 31; of "show" trials, 67. *And see* Cinemas.
Finance, always available for "Unity" propaganda, 51
Fines, imposition of, in Saxe-Anhalt, 67; confiscatory, 92; for sabotage, 220
Finland, imports of fertilizers, 172
Finnefroh, Public Prosecutor, and the Hitkamp gang, 145
Firms, power to close down, in Saxe-Anhalt, 67
Fischer, Kasting's manager, arrested and beaten, 264
Fishing industry controlled by Russians, 173
Fishing grounds, Baltic, spoilt by Russians sinking poison gases, 173
Five-year plan system, 174 *et seq.*
Floods, forced labour to combat, 182
Food, used as bribe in elections, 47; for privileged classes, 49–50; in prisons, 76; exported to Soviet Union, 106, 296; shortages, waste and demonstrations in Saxony, 122–3; in Thuringia, 151; for forced labour, 182, 185; at the Aue uranium mines, 192–4; deprivations as punishment, 191, 197; deprivations imposed on hostages, 202; blackmarket in, at uranium mines, 197; trading with, 233–5; camouflaged as UNRRA transport and sent to Soviet Union, 235; confiscated by Red Army, 237; report on conditions in Insterburg, 238; at Torgau concentration camp, 258; under Sokolovski Order, 303, 305
Food-cards, taken from women refusing to join forced labour, 193; distribution of, at uranium mines, 194; not issued to peasants, 233
Food and drink factories without coal, 116
Food queues, "Unity" police spies in, 124
Forced labour, condition of barracks for, 179–80, 182; conditions in assembly centres, 185; in uranium districts, 187 *et seq.*; sentences for "sabotage", 213; seizures for, in Insterburg, 238
Ford, Henry, on the Ideological Index, 30
Forms, required by Russians for statistics, 118
Forst, a frontier town under Potsdam agreement, 82; the case of Bruno Bohrmann, 83–4
Forster, Hugo, denounced by Communists in municipal elections, 101–3
Frankfort-on-Oder, delays in charging remand prisoners, 77; concentration camp at, 254, 257; "reception" camp for returning prisoners of war, 273
France, Nazi protectorate of, 40; exports to, 296
Fraud, common to Nazi and Fascist, 51
Frederick the Great, autocracy of, 104
Free German Committee, Moscow (1943), 38, 62, 155, 288
Free German Trade Union Federation. *See* F.D.G.B.
Free German Youth. *See* F.D.J.
Freedom of movement of workers abolished, 185
Freiberg, prospecting operations at, 187
Freienwald-on-Oder, every woman raped in, 239
Friede, Dieter, a journalist, kidnapped, 271
Friedrich, Dr., President of Provincial Administration, Saxony, and sabotage, 108, 220
Friemann & Wolf, production for reparations, 296
Frohnau uranium mines, 186
Frontier Guards, Russian, crimes on Polish frontier, 251–2
Frost, concentration camp in, 254

Fuel, shortage of, 169; wood collected by forced labour, 183; problems in Berlin, 311–12
Fuenfeichen concentration camp broken up and inmates deported to Russia, 255
Fueting & Co., Zoeblitz, a façade for S.M.A.D. exports, 117
Fugitives, return to Mecklenburg, 159; from uranium areas, 200–3
Furniture factories dismantled, 115

Galk, Comrade, appointed Judge at Guben, 43
Garantie und Kreditbank, Berlin, re-opened to finance Soviet trade, 140
Gardelegen prison in a market stores, 76
Gas, shortage of, 169
Gas works, coal shortage in, 116
Geising tin mines dismantled, 115
Gentz, Dr., efforts to assist sick prisoners, 110–11
Gera, population of, not allowed wireless sets with more than two valves, 30; election speeches censored, 46; circular on quotas, 214
Gera Technical Workshops, workers deported, 204
Gerasimov, Captain, local Commandant, 127
German administration, under express control of Russians, 155
German armed forces, former members "directed" to labour centres, 201
German army, Russian attempts to disintegrate, through League of German Officers, 38
German Army, in Mecklenburg after collapse, 159
German Central Administration of the Interior, 124
German Institute for Social and Economic Problems, 280 *et seq.*
German institutions, Russian interference in, 132
German navy, ex-officers directed to Minsk and Kiev, 201
German News Bureau, Russian-licensed, 29
German sections of anti-fascist P.O.W. schools, 36
German undertakings taken over by Soviet firms: no criticism permitted, 17
German working-class: disruption of, 13; desire for unity, 13; loyalty to Social Democracy, 14
Gessner, Theodor, a peasant wood carter, arrested, 164
Germans, desire for anti-fascist unity, 13; hatred of Russian regime, 31; "healthy feelings" towards "liberators", 64–5
Giesches Erben, Magdeburg, dismantled, 139, 177, 182
"Gifts" from the Soviet Union, 235
Girls, employed for turf digging, 183; recruited for uranium mines, 193; flight from Soviet zone, 202
Glashuette, watch factories and fine-mechanical works dismantled, 116
Glauchau, Public Prosecutor at, 66
Gleichschaltung in Eastern Zone, 312, 316
Gniffke, "Unity" Party leader, 51; proposal to arrest Landraete, 51
Goebbels, Joseph, his newspaper technique continued, 29
Goffstein, Lieutenant, of S.M.A., and arrest of Fandrich, 93
Gommern sugar works dismantled, 139
Gorschalski Company, production of, for reparations, 296
Governments, Special Courts set up by, 67
G.P.U., German, 33, 36, 39
Grain, declining yield of, 118–19, 136
Grassmann, Hans, engineer, hunted in Western Zone, 266
Graudenz, concentration camp, 257
Great Britain, exports to, 296
Greiz, election results negatived, 48
Greussen, arrests after provocation, 147–8
Griem, an official, and breadmakers of Rostock, 219
Grimma, the case of Hans Klos at, 106
Groba, Councillor of Eberswalde, 100–1, 102
Groeningen sugar works dismantled, 139
Grosse, Dr., on food situation in Thuringia, 151
Grossmann, called up for "labour duties", 177
Gross-Zossen Mines, machinery dismantled, 115
Grotewald, a "guarantee for progress", 26
Grotewohl, Otto, a leader of "Unity" Party, 33, 34; resistance to, 124
Gruenau, conditions of labour gangs at, 256–7
Gruenberg, Soviet-trained Minister for People's education, 153, 156
Guben: confiscation of sports equipment, 25; High Court and Prison, 42–3
Gunia, Christoph, arrested by Americans for kidnapping in Western Zone, 266
Gurgenidse, Lieutenant, 42
Gusev, General, "show" trial of offending lorry-driver, 63
Gut Liebenberg estate confiscated, 34
Guthmann, convicted of fraud and blackmail, 156

"Gypsy Baron, The", production forbidden, 31

Habann, Professor, high frequency expert, deported, 204
Halle, movement of High Court to Merseburg, 132; movement of Supreme Court to, 132
Halliant, Judge, report on magistrate Fandrich, 90
Hamburg wireless jammed by Russians, 30
Handke, Heinz, arrested as a spy, 261
Hannemann, Policeman, 94
Harbour work, forced labour at Wismar, 183
Harbours dismantled, 168, 172
"Hard currency", a magic formula, 296–7
Hartwich, Otto, statement of confiscations, 166–7
Harvest, surrender of entire crops demanded, 51
Hase, police official, third-degree methods of, 96, 102
Hauschild, Detective-Sergeant, prisoners beaten by, 135
Health, public, decline in, 234
Hecht, Vice-Landrat, involved in Hitkamp's crimes, 143 *et seq.*
Heine meat canning factory, exclusively for reparations account, 141
Heinrich, Dr., of C.D.U., 16–17
Heise, Privy Councillor: Call for "ideological clean-up" of museums, 32
Helfert, a criminal, in office, 160–2
Helmich, a farm labourer, shot by Konrad, 127
"Hero of Labour", 225
"Hero of Reconstruction", 225
Herpich, Ministerial Councillor, corrupt practices of, 126
Heydermann, Dr., arrested and sent to concentration camp, 168
Hickman, Herr, Saxon C.D.U., on pressure at People's Congress, 20
Hierarchy of society and privileges under Russian occupation, 49–50
High-tension lines dismantled, 139
Hill, of Zuehlsdorf, beaten and murdered, 94
Hilmersdorf, compulsory billeting in, 196
Hinze, Mayor, called up for "labour duties", 177
Hirschfelde power station dismantled, 115
Hitkamp, an official organizer of robber-band in Weissensee, 142 *et seq.*
Hitler, his "accomplices" in cinema theatres expropriated, 32; his method the same as Russia's, 52
Hitler Youth: members well received by Free German Youth, 26, 52; members taken for re-education, 80
Hoarding, Committee for combating, 23
Hochfrequenz works dismantled, 115
Hoecker, Prime Minister of Mecklenburg, 163; on peasant wreckers, 234
Hoeniger, Comrade Ministerial Director, 43
Hoeniger, Dr., and confiscations at Kolberg, 86; and Landrat Dietrich of Ruppin, 87; and Magistrate Fandrich of Oranienburg, 88–93; the Hase case, 96
Hoernle, President of Central Administration for Agriculture, on wrong measures taken by authorities, 229–30
Hoffert, a veterinary surgeon, denounced and dismissed, 129
Hoffmann, Heinrich, of Thuringia, on necessity for Nazis to join "Unity", 54
Hoheneck prison for juveniles, 111
Hohenschoenau, concentration camp in, 254
Holland, exports to, 296
Holler, Herr, L.D.D. Deputy, escape of, 20
Holst, arrest and murder of, 159
Horst, local representative of C.D.U., house searched for arms, 75
Hostages, 147; for forced labour, 189, 202; of Zeiss factory workers attempting escape from deportation, 203; for citizens accused of sabotage, 218–21; for peasants' delivery quotas, 223
Hotels, registration to show party membership, 171
Hours of work, 308; for forced labour, 180; in uranium mines, 190–2
House arrest, 106
"House-leaders", 274
"House of Soviet Culture", Berlin, 18
Houses bought up by Soviet companies, 299
Housing, for privileged, 49, 50; "model" living quarters, 50
Hoy, Herbert, "show" trial of, for economic conspiracy, 66–7
Hoyenwerder quarantine camp for screening prisoners of war, 272–3
Hubbe & Fahrenholtz, dismantled, 139
Huebener, Dr., Prime Minister of Saxe-Anhalt, warning on collapse of judiciary, 16, 62, 137
Hungarian sections of anti-fascist P.O.W. schools, 36
Hynde, Brigadier-General, accused of spying and arrested, 263

Identity papers, falsification of, 134 *et seq.*

Ideological drill, 36–8
Ideological training, in Mecklenburg, 153
I.G. Farben, dismantled in Wollfen and Bitterfeld, 139
Immigration, into Saxony, and land distribution, 119
Imports from Poland, 291
Imprisonment, long, while awaiting trial, 70; under concentration camp law, 138; without charge or trial, 144; for forced labourers, 184; for absenteeism, 197; for "sabotage", 209; for drunkenness, 217; for unfulfilled quotas, 230
Income tax, returned by "premiums" to privileged classes, 50
Index, Ideological, prepared by League of Culture, 30
Indignation meetings, 63
Industrial railway equipment dismantled, 115
Industries, list of, operated by Soviet companies, 293
Industriewerke Sachsen-Anhalt, the State-controlled monopoly in Saxe-Anhalt, 141
Industry: expropriation and nationalization-without-compensation in Saxony, 112; economic situation in Saxony, 116, 118; "working chiefly for Soviet Orders", 299–301
Industry, heavy, and reparations account, 117; raw materials confiscated, 117
Infanticide by desperate raped girls, 244–5
Inflation, monetary, 293
Information Service of the Socialist Unity Party = I.F.O., 275–7
Insterburg, food conditions in, 238
Institute for Forensic Medicine and Criminal Studies, Halle, dismantled, 139
Insurance Companies, Saxon, replaced by State institutions, 118
Inter-Allied Control Council, 283
International Bible Students' Association, persecution of, 273
International Brigade, Spain, 35, 155
International Control Commission, 292
Interpreters, in danger, 271
Intimidation, political, 51–4; in Thuringia, 145; of "old" peasants, 228
"Inviolability" of goods, 213
Iron production (1946–7), 116
Isolation of prisoners in concentration camps, 257
Italian sections of anti-fascist P.O.W. schools, 36
Ivanov district, anti-fascist school in, 36
Ivanov, Colonel, and the Hitkamp gang, 145
Ivanov, Juri Vasilievitch, Major, and property of Max Mueller, 97–8
Iven, Communist Party Secretary, threat to Frau Neuwald, 101

Jaeckel, Herr, Branch Secretary of L.D.D., resignation of, 20
Jakob, Walter, Mayor of Zuehlsdorf, illegal "private" confiscations, 93–4, 102
Jamlitz, concentration camp in, 254
Jamming of wireless from West, 30
Jankuhn, Lawyer, and Fandrich, 92–3
Jansen, Herr, editor of C.D.U. paper, resignation of, 20
Jesse, Willi, arrest and disappearance of, 154; death in concentration camp, 268
Jew, beaten insensible by Red Army, 237
Johanngeorgenstadt uranium mines, 186; accidents in, 193
Johne, called for "labour duties", 177
Journalists, dangers of, 271
Judiciary, independence of, an essential in all civilized States, 55; an instrument of political power under totalitarian system, 55; party politics and the, 56–62; dismissal of judges and officials, 56; recruitment of synthetic jurists and "People's judges", 57–8, 59 *et seq.*; "Express jurists", 59–60; "show" trials, 62–7; "Unity" and, 72–4; independence destroyed, 107; hand-picked jurors, 129–32
Judges, appointment of, 56; and unfulfilled quotas, 104; "reactionary", 106–7
Jueterbog Camp for forced labour, 183–4
Junkers Works, Dessau, dismantled, 139; skilled and technical experts deported, 204
Juries, at "show" trials, 65
Jurists, "synthetic", produced after purge of legal administration, 57
"Justice" in a totalitarian State, 55 *et seq.*
Juvenile prisoners, 111

Kaelbe, Judge, suspended for criminal offences, 102
Kaesler, Mayor of Langewahl: confiscation of Mueller's property, 97–9
Kahla: election speeches censored, 46
Kaiser, Jakob, leader of C.D.U., 19; rebuked by "Unity" party, 17; arrested, 20; loyal staff of, 29; speech against Oder–Neisse frontier, 29
Kars district, 286
Kaspar, Herr, and licence for railway buffet, 88 *et seq.*

Kasting, a merchant, arrested and expropriated, 264
Kay, Ella, Mayor, 312
Keller, Karl, a convicted criminal, given office by "Unity", 110
Kessel, Herr and Frau, imprisoned and property confiscated, 92
Ketschendorf, concentration camp in, 255; mass burials of young men and girls, 260
Keudel, Privy Councillor, arrested on serious charges, 126
Kidnapping, mass, 16, 96–9, 203–8, 265; of "unreliable" officials, 52; of young people, 80, 267–8
Kientzel, Otto, Mayor of Liebenwalde, arrested, 20
Kiessling, Walter, in charge of food-cards, sentenced for embezzlement, 110
Killig, chief of police in Guben, 42–3
Kirchner, criminal assistant of Reinhold Lettau, 147
Kirstein, a criminal, appointed District Police Chief, 160–2
Klein, Alfred, member of Students Council, arrested and sent to forced labour, 311
Klos, Hans, arrest and re-arrest into "Russian custody", 106
Kloss, Sonia, expropriator in Kolberg, 85–6, 102
Knoch, Councillor, theft of food by, 110
Knorrbremse A.G., railway building works, dismantled, 121
Koch, official, involved in crimes, 143 *et seq.*
Koenigsberg, report on atrocities of Red Army after capture of, 236–40
Koenigsberg, annexed to Russia, 285
Koenigswusterhausen, Soviet course of instruction at, 19
Koentopp, Chief of Police in Kottbus, 42–3
Kolberg village, expropriations in, 85–6
Kolkhoz farming, 228
Kolyesnitchenko, Major-General, Soviet Viceroy in Thuringia, 142 *et seq.*, 149, 152
Konkolevsky, Dr., arrest of, 107
Konrad, Joseph, a convicted criminal, appointed "Political Police Chief" of Niegripp, 126–7
Kotikov, General: on control of sport, 25; on Berlin toilers, 306; "Fourteen Points" of, 306–7; and fuel supplies, 311–12
Kottbus, trial of doctors at for sterilization operations, 69; the Buettner case, 78–82
Kovalov, Lieutenant Alexis, a drunken Russian officer, 253
Kraft, Walter, accomplice of Joseph Konrad, 127
Kratyn, Captain, of S.M.A.D., 18–19
Kravchenko, Colonel, and rape of women in Nordhausen, 147
Kraznogorsk, anti-fascist school in, 36
Kremser, Judge, attacked by "Unity" newspaper, 73
Krimmitschau, election promises and threats at, 48
Kripper, Police President of Zwickau, in concentration camp, 272
Kroschel, Frau Dr., 111
Krueger, of Provincial Administration of the Mark Brandenburg, 79
Krueger, Chief of Stralsund C.I.D., in concentration camp, 271
Krueger, Frau, licensee of buffet at Oranienburg station, 88 *et seq.*
Krueger, Police President, "Unity" member, on "voluntary" registration for call-up, 202
Krumme, chief of I.F.O., 40
Krupp-Gruson Works, Magdeburg-Buckau, taken over by Soviet, 139; 12-hour day introduced, 140
Kuehne vinegar works, for reparations, 169
Kuelz, Wilhelm, Chairman of L.D.P., on the anti-fascist block, 16; on opposition to "Unity" Party, 16; the Landrat Sonntag case, 16; capitulation policy, 18; opposition to, broken, 20; support for "Unity", 21; on People's Judges, 60; investigation into Hitkamp crimes, 143
Kulaks, deported and sent to forced-labour camps, 175; a "socially unsirable element", 222
Kumpa, Privy Councillor, previously convicted for criminal offences, 126
Kun, Bela, fate of, 33
Kunersdorf uranium mines, 186
Kuschnitzky, Dr., Attorney-General of Thuringia, 145
Kvashnin, Major-General, Chief of Transport Department, S.M.A.D., 121–2, 167–8
Kyritz, home for "victims of Fascism" in, 79

Labour camps, 238; conditions at Aue uranium pits, 191–2; fugitives from, 200–3. *And see* Concentration camps; Forced labour.
Labour conditions, 174–208
Labour, "Direction of", 174 *et seq.*; report of a victim, 179–80
Labour Direction Notice, form of, 176
Labour discipline, 184, 185
Labour forces under armed guard, 174 *et seq.*
Labour, "free", 174 *et seq.*
"Labour obligation", definition of, 174, 176; form of notice of, 180

Labour plan, model, 304–5
Labour protection regulations abolished, 198
Labour Service Order, specimen notice, 188
Land, condition of agricultural, 227; rendered idle under "reform", 232
Land-distribution Committees, 119
Landeszeitung of Schwerin: on "Socialist Competition" to recruit members for F.D.G.B., 24
Landowners, in Saxony, 119; sent to concentration camps, 168
Land re-distribution, 118–19
Land Reform Committee and private expropriations, 85
Land-reform scheme, no criticism permitted, 17, 31; in Saxony, 118–21; operations of criminals in Thuringia, 144–5; and concentration camps, 168; produces "sabotage", 226–30
Landrat, functions of a, 86 *n.*
Landskron of Breslau, shoes for fugitives stolen from, 140
Lange, a detective, 164
Lange, Judge, in sterilization trials, 70
Lange & Lischke, clothing manufacture expropriated for "sabotage", 220
Langenbeck, Bernhard, arrested and tortured, 165
Langensalza: election speeches censored, 46; quota of forced labour for Aue, 189
Lauta works dismantled, 182
Law, the collapse of, 55–77
Law-books, destruction of, ordered in Bernburg, 133
Lawlessness, abitrary, 39
L.D.P. (= Liberal Democratic Party), "permitted" by S.M.A., 15; National Congress not bolshevist enough, 17, 18–19; Youth Conference prohibited, 17; strict surveillance of, 17–18; Congress in Schandau, 18; Russian instruction for younger officials, 19; complete loss of independence, 20; fire in headquarters, 20; newspaper circulation restricted, 28; registration of Branches prevented, 45; and elections for Student's Council, Leipzig, 54; judge members of, 58; and confiscations, 114; members arrested and tortured, 268–70
Leaders: training of, 26
League of Culture, 27, 52, 155–6
League of German Girls, members taken by N.K.V.D. for re-education, 80
League of German officers, 38
Lebus area, deprived of food after elections, 48
Lectures, censorship of, 17
Legal administration: purge by "Unity", 57; employees and officials "advised" to join "Unity" and F.D.G.B., 62; and the judiciary, 72
Legal Conference of "Unity" and the judiciary, 72
Legal immunity, conferred by party membership, 72–4
Legal Profession, members "advised" to join "anti-Fascist" party, 52; recruitment of "jurists", 57
Legislative powers in civilized States, 55
Lehmann, Clerk of Storkov Court, 85, 102
Lehmann, Willi, responsible for wrongful arrests, 164–5
Leimer, an official, organizer of robber-band, 143 *et seq.*
Leininger, Comrade, chief of legal department, Potsdam, 43
Leipzig, Red Army in, 39; "Unity" Party in, 54; custody camp at, 105; dismantling at, 115; food shortages and tumults (1947), 123
Leipzig Fair, and the spy scare, 124, 262; export orders scrutinized and supervised, 274; exhibits confiscated by Russia, 296
Leipzig University, results of the election to Students Council, 54
Leipzig wireless station, 30
Leipziger Volkszeitung, on attitude of Factory Councils, 307
Lengefeld, compulsory billeting in, 196
Lenin, 33, 74; glorified in Saxony, 105; the November Revolution, 283
Lerson, Frau, recipient of confiscated property, 166–7
Lettau, Reinhold, a corrupt official, 147
Leuna Works, dismantled, 139; workers deported, 203–4
Ley, Dr. Robert, Director of Nazi "Labour Front", 24
Liberal Democratic Party. *See* L.D.P.
Libraries, available for "Unity" propaganda, 51
Licences to publish and sell newspapers and other printed material, 27 *et seq.*
Licences to trade, power to withdraw in Saxe-Anhalt, 67
Liebenwalde, Central Party School in, 36
Lieberose, local court, and Buettner case, 78
Liesegang, Mayor, tried for highway robbery and murder, 102
Limberger, engineer, escape of, 265
Limportex, Leipzig, a façade for S.M.A.D. exports, 117
Lipp, police licutenant, arrested by Wallstab, 134
Lippe, maltreatment of workers by, 135
"Liquidation", 270–2

Listeners, "secret", persecution of, 30
Living conditions, of directed labour at dismantling of Brabag works, 65
Locomotive works, production for U.S.S.R., 296
Loder, Judge, an active Nazi, 102
Loehr, Ministerial Director of Economics, Mecklenburg, 153, 154
Loehr, Frau, a Chief Privy Councillor, 154
Lohagen, Ernst, district leader of "Unity", 40; threatens workers with "liquidation", 270–1
London: wireless jammed by Russians, 30
London Conference of Foreign Ministers, 19
Lorenz A.G., Saxon branch dismantled, 115
Lorenz, Councillor, theft of food by, 110
Lovitz, Inspector, and torture of Langenbeck, 165
Ludwig, Heinrich, murder of, 83–4
Ludwigslust, trials for sterilization operations at, 69–70
Luebben District, kidnapping of young people in, 80
Luebke, Professor, scientist of Rostock, deported, 205
Luedtke, Walter, denouncer of Kasting, 264
Lueger, Mayor Vienna, on identification of Jews, 40
Lung diseases in uranium mines, 190
Luther, Martin, on the Ideological Index, 30

Machinery, removed from mines and power-stations, 115; dismantled and sent to Russia, 172; used for agricultural machinery, 227; agricultural, idle for lack of petrol, 229
Mackensen, Wolf Electro-works, taken over by Soviet, 139
McNeil, of American Military Government, arrested as a spy, 263
Mader murder case, 43
Mader-Schwabe scandals, 16
Maerkische Volksstimme, attack on Judge Kremer, 73; on "Berlin" hoarders, 234–5
Magdeburg: party schools in, 36; "Unity" in, 52; "show" trials, 63, 65; trial of Zippert, 128
Mahle, controller of wireless, 30
Malnutrition of girls in D.P. camp, 240
Manchuria, Soviet espionage in, 35
"Manorial buildings", 228
Mansfeld, special camp for "noxious" elements, 68
Marauding bands of Red Soldiers, 248–50
Margarine works dismantled, 139
Marienberg uranium mines, 186, 189–90; evacuation of local inhabitants, 195; special passport for, 198
Marienborn, men seized for forced labour, 184
Mark Brandenburg: purge of legal administration, 57
Market-gardening and the agricultural "plan", 221–2
Markgraf, Police President of Berlin, recruited to Communist Party, 38
Marquard, Chief Privy Councillor: Purge of police in Leipzig, 39
Marshall, George, U.S.A. Secretary of State: copies of his speech confiscated, 27–8
Marshall Plan: only Russian point of view permitted, 17
Marty, leader of International Brigade, 35
Marwitz, Dr., director of Saxon prisons, 111
Marx, Karl, 199
Marxism, knowledge of required in candidates for police force, 52
Marzilger, "Unity" Mayor of Nauen, charge of manslaughter against, 43
Mass flight from uranium (Erzegebirge) district, 196
Mass resistance in U.S.S.R., 211
Masuria, deliberately destroyed by Red Army, 239
Matern, Hermann, attacked by murdering bands, 252
Matkovski, Hermann, Communist Mayor of Ponarth, on brutalities of Red Army in Koenigsberg, 237–8
Meat, shortage of, 137
Meat-packers, Bad Doberau, working for reparations account, 168–9
Mechanics, skilled, deported, 203
Mecklenburg and West Pomerania, 153–73; recruiting members for F.D.G.B., 24; expropriations, 32; purge of law candidates, 57; sterilization laws, 68; trial of doctors for sterilization operations, 69–70; the Party élite, 153–6; "Float a new Loan", 156–7; swollen bureaucracy, 157–9; after the collapse, 159–62; sentenced twice for one offence, 162–4; confession extorted by torture, 164–6; illegal confiscations, 166–7; confiscation by right of conquest, 167–70; class distinctions in Baltic seaside resorts, 171; exports for the Soviet Union, 172–3; land reform, 226
Mecklenburg Diet, "Unity" Party fraction, 51
Medical attention, for forced labour, 180, 185

Meetings: failure of "Unity" to get audiences, 53
Megow, a Communist secretary, 165
Mehler, District Police Chief, involved in crimes, 143 *et seq.*
Mehn and Ohlerich brewery dismantled, 168
Meier, Public Prosecutor at Guben, removed for being reactionary, 42–3
Meissen, Youth Parliament at, 25, 26
Meissen Porcelain Works, now a Soviet concern, producing exclusively for Soviet, 296
Meller, Lieut.-Colonel, Polish representative in Berlin, 34
Melsheimer, Dr., 240; on judges who cannot "read the signs of the times", 107
Mennicke, Frau, and Mueller's confiscated furniture, 98
Merseburg, Movement of High Court to, 132
Mertens, Lord Mayor of Jena, escape of, 272
Metal scrap collected for U.S.S.R., 296
Metzger, Johann, seized for deportation, escape of, 206
Mewes, Frau, 85, 86
Metallurgical industry dismantled, 115
Mexico: return of German Communists from, 34
Meyenberg Railway Station (Priegnitz), passengers searched and goods confiscated, 74
Meyer, investigating attorney, 106
Meyer, Adolf, arrested, maltreated, and robbed, 161
Michalski, Georg, arrested as a spy, 262
"Milk-and-meat" action, the, 64
Milk deliveries, Mecklenburg, 170
Miller, Ernst, arrest and disappearance, 207
Miners, hours of work, 307–8
Miners Union, and employment of women underground, 198
Mines, pumps dismantled and flooding caused, 186
Ministry for Internal Affairs (M.V.D.), successor of N.K.V.D., 36
Ministry of Trade and Supplies and vanished food at Erfurt, 64
Missing youths, 267–8
"Mobilization Orders" for forced labour, 179, 180–1
Mogel, Landrat of Beeshow-Storkov, and confiscation of Mueller's furniture, 97–8, 102
Molotov, on the inviolability of the Oder–Neisse frontier, 34; on sabotage, 210
Moltmann, Chairman of Mecklenburg S.D.P., 154
Monopolies, in Saxe-Anhalt, 141; enjoyed by Russian undertakings, 173
Moravia, Nazi protectorate of, 40
Morgenthal, Herr, black marketeer 171
Moritz Stecher Ltd., Freiburg, expropriation of, 71
Moritz Stecher (Arsenical Products), Ltd., wrongful expropriation of, 71
Mortality rate in concentration camps, 260
Mueck, a sports trainer, held up and robbed, 252
Muehlberg, concentration camp in, 39, 255, 257, 260
Muehlhausen, speech of Eggerath at, 34
Mueller, Dr., of Ministry of Labour, Thuringia, 151
Mueller, Dr., High School Supervisor, Mecklenburg, 159
Mueller, Albert, Mayor, shot dead by robbers, 249
Mueller, Franz, a saddler, directed to Aue uranium mines, 200
Mueller, Max, confiscation of stored furniture of, 97–9
Mueller, Rudolf, jet propulsion expert, deported, 204
Mueller-Bernhard, Dr., motion for Diet control of confiscated industry, 114
Mundt, L.D.P. member of Saxon Diet, victim of "Unity" denigration, 18
Munich, Conference of Premiers at, 21
Municipalities, "Special Courts" set up by, 67
Municipalization of small industry, campaign in Saxony, 112
Murder Commission, 135
Murders, by Konrad, "ordered" by Russians, 127; in Mecklenburg, 159, 167; accompanying rape, 243; by "men in Russian uniform", 249 *et seq.*
Museums: "ideological clean-up" demanded, 32
Muskau electric power-station, accusations of sabotage refuted, 215
Nationalization-without-compensation referendum (Saxony), 112
Naumburg, movement of Supreme Court to Halle, 132
Naval engineers, directed to Russia, 201
Nazi N.S.V., 15
Nazi Winter Relief Scheme, 15
Nazis, carrying out successful careers, 39, 40; political methods of, 51; in Saxe-Anhalt, 128–9
Negroes, 26
Nemson, Herbert, of "Unity", black marketeer in petrol, 73
Nepotism, 39, 154

Netchkau sack-works, products exclusively for Russian requirements, 117
Neu Brandenburg, concentration camp at, 168, 268; witness of escaped prisoner, 257–8; mortality, 260; kidnapped youths in, 267
"Neudorf", new "Potemkin village", 227
Neue Zeitung (Munich), 27
Neuhoeffer, Mayor, irregularities of, 144
Neukirchen-Borna mines, machinery dismantled, 115
Neumann, Herr and Frau, arrested and property confiscated, 109
Neumann, Heinz, fate of, 33
Neuruppin District: report on peasants' quota deliveries, 103–4; High Court of, 214
Neuwald, Annemarie, sent to lunatic asylum after confiscation of property, 100–1
"New democratic order", 34
New Democracy, members of "Unity" privileged in, 72–3
New Life, 25
Newsagents: control by Soviet, 27
Newspapers: freedom in Berlin, 27; totalitarian control in provinces, 27; character of, 28; official material, 29; hampered during elections, 47; "Unity" paper in Saxony, 54; and reports of trials, 63
Newspapers, British, and "show" trials, 66
Newspapers, independent, 29
Newspaper-seller's fear of N.K.V.D. at Potsdam, 27
"News collectors", 281
New Tasks of the Free Trade Unions (Walter Ulbricht), 23
Niederwartha accumulating plant dismantled, 115
Nierenberger, called up for "labour duties", 177
Nikolaiev, Major (of S.M.A.D.) sent to Magdeburg after "show" trial at Brabag works, 66
Nikolas, Mayor, called up for "labour duties", 177
Nishevenko, Major, and magistrate Fandrich, 91
N.K.V.D. (=People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), 18, 24, 36; arrest of reader of Western newspaper, 27; arrest of former Comintern leaders, 33; and "democracy", 41–2; interrogations by, 45; after elections in Greiz, 48; and Kottbus sterilization trials, 69; and "People's Police", 74–5; prisons sealed off, 75; and the Buettner case, 79–82; re-education of the Hitler Youth by, 80; and disposal of Bruno Bohrmann, 84; and expropriations, 85–6; in Saxony, 105, 123; and criminal Zippert, 127–8; use of former Gestapo by, 129; during general registration in Mecklenburg, 168; in control of penal system, 175; torture in concentration camps, 255–6; raids into Western Zone, 265–6; arrests and torture by, 268–70; and "Unity" spies and eavesdroppers, 275; recruitment of spies by, 278–80; pounce on questioners at "show" lectures, 282
Noginsk, anti-fascist school in, 36
Non-Party organizations, 15, 22–4
Nordhausen: election speeches censored, 46
Noss, official of C.D.U., kidnapped, 265
"Noxious" elements (spivs, black marketeers) in special camp for labour in copper mines, 68
Nudow, Ministerial Director, sentenced to hard labour, 264
Nuernberg, a boxer, held up and robbed, 252

Oath, taken by Communist graduates, 37
Oberschlema, search for uranium at, 186; destruction of spa, 187
Oberspree Cable Works, workers deported, 204
Occupation authorities: effort to build Soviet system, 49 *et passim*.
Oderburch district, devastation in, 295
Oder Conservancy carried out by forced labour, 182
Oder–Neisse frontier, 17, 19–20, 29, 34, 285–6
Odessa, dismantled German factories re-assembled at, 207
Oehme, Judge, sentences on farmers, 130 *et seq*.
Oelsnitz, failure to deliver quota of forced labour, 189
Offences tried by mobile peasant courts, 67
Offices, employees compelled to join "Unity", 51–2
Officials, methods of recruitment and records of, 52; held up and robbed, 252–3
Old women, raped by Red Soldiers, 238
Oles, Landrat, imprisoned for embezzlement, 110
One-party system camouflaged, 16
"Operative reaction", 103–4
Oppeln, concentration camp, 257
Optical industry, difficulties in Saxony, 116
Oranienburg, concentration camp, 88, 257

Oranienburg Court, magistrate Fandrich of, 88–93
Oranienburg prison in a brewery, 76
"Ordensburgen", Nazi, model for training schools for leaders, 26
Order No. 94, on State undertakings, 300
"Order No. 234", the real meaning of, 301–6, 307 *et seq.*
Ore, from uranium districts, transported to Russia, 187
Orlopp, Mayor, 98
Oschatz district, "mobile peasant courts" in, 67
Osterburg Court, terror verdicts on sabotage, 212
Ottersleben, Mayor of, orders confiscation of wireless sets of offending listeners, 30

Paatz, Landrat of Niederbarnim, a typical new official, 102, 103
Paintings, world-famous, taken as war booty, 315
Paper, distribution during elections, 46–7; available for "Unity", 51; controlled by S.M.A., 28
Parks, upkeep by forced labour, 182
Parliament, nature of, in Mecklenburg, 158
Party-political neutrality, rejected by F.D.G.B., 23
Passports, special, for uranium district of Marienberg, 198
Paul, Dr., Provincial President, Thuringia, 145, 149, 272
Pavel, a witness in Buettner case, 81
"Peasant Banner" awarded, 226
Peasants, "Old" and "New", 51, 72, 226; compelled to surrender harvest, 51; and Peasants' Mutual Aid Association (*q.v.*), 52; "milk-and-meat" action, 64; "Mobile peasant courts", 67; quota in Brandenburg, 103–4; and land distribution committees, 119–20; abolition of free peasantry, 121; unfulfilled delivery quotas, 130 *et seq.*, 214, 230–3; instructions on quotas, 149, 150; fines imposed on, 150; returned from Russia, 166; in forced labour, 175; charged for minor infringements, 214–15; fixing quotas, 221 *et seq.*; under "land reform", 227 *et seq.*; deported, 228; robbed by frontier guards, 251–2; impossible situation of, 292. *And see* Agriculture; Land reform; Quotas.
Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, 15, 52, 67; and land distribution, 119; status and functions, 120; in control, 136–7; land confiscated by, 166; proposals for registration, 221 *et seq.*

Peenemunde works, dismantling suspended, 168
Peetz, Chief Councillor of Eberswalde, 100–1, 102
Penal code, for forced labour, 184, 185; introduction of "sabotage", 210 *et seq.*
Penal system, a public scandal, 75–7; in hands of secret police, 175
People's Actions, 15
People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs = N.K.V.D., *q.v.*
People's Congress for National Unity and a Just Peace (Berlin, 1947), 19–20
"People's Control Committees" of F.D.G.B., 50
"People's Democracy", Nazis in responsible positions in, 40
"People's Democratic Bodies", 23
People's Education, Mecklenburg Ministry for, 153
"People's Judges", 58 *et seq.*
People's referendum (Saxony) on confiscation, 112
People's Solidarity, 15
Persecution: of readers of and subscribers to Western newspapers, 27
Personnel Department: the spy department of "Unity", 34
Personnel files, system of, 52
Peters, Kurt, Saxon official, imprisoned for theft, 110
Petersen, Karl, a Dane, murdered by Russian soldiers, 246
Peterson, Communist, imprisoned for black-market dealings, 43
Petrol, distribution during elections, 46; black market in, 73
Petrol pump network taken over by Soviet, 298
Petrusblatt (Catholic paper), circulation of prohibited, 28
Petukov, Lieut.-Colonel, and train robbery, 247
Petzold, Mayor of Saupersdorf, party for Russian officers, 109
Pfeiffer, of Guben District Secretariat of "Unity" Party, 43
Physicists from Rostock University deported, 205
Pieck, Eleonore, "purchase" of valuable house in Niederschoenweide, 34
Pieck, Lore, given the confiscated Boernicke estate, 34
Pieck, Wilhelm, leader of "Unity" Party, 33, 34, 52; on "reinforcing" the will of the people, 22; a "guarantee of progress", 26; anger at failure of "Unity" to get audiences, 53; resistance to, 124; welcomed by order, 167
Pippow, a referee, held up and robbed, 252

"Pistor" concentration camp, children in, 261
Pitchblende, the search for, 187 *et seq.*
"Plan", The, nature of, 64, 155; methods of administration, 212 *et seq.*; stages in execution of, 221–2
"Planned economy" and agriculture, 119
Planning Office, Mecklenburg, 153, 157
Plauen, local N.K.V.D. interviewed by author, 42; election meetings, 46; dismissal of High Court typist, 56; glorification of Stalin in, 105; lace industry ruined, 117–18; failure to deliver quota of forced labour, 189
Plesse, Karl, 39
Plundering, 96–9; of private houses, 237
Poeppensdorf, camp for fugitives, 202
Poessneck optical works, workers deported, 204
Poland: coal imported from, 116; the tool of Russia, 285
Police: seizure of newspapers, 27; corrupt appointments in Leipzig, 39; Social Democrats dismissed or arrested, 39–40; support for "Unity", 51; examinations, 52; supervision at Court trials, 65–6; training, 64; "People's Police", 74–5; in Saxony, 105–10; requisitioning of buildings in Marienberg, 189–90; at uranium mines, 194; and compulsory billeting, 196; records of ex-Service men, 201–2; German, murdered while protecting women, 248. *See also* N.K.V.D.; Secret police.
"Political arrests", 264
Political considerations and court verdicts, 68–71
Political devotion, value of, 34–6
Political intimidation, 51–4, 177
"Political justice", 107
Political leaders, a privileged class, 49
"Political line", 40
"Political neutrality" of bolshevists, 21
Political offenders in forced labour camps, 175
Political officers: and election speeches, 46
Political prisoners in Saxony, 105
Political School of the Comintern, Kushmarenko, 154
Politics and the judiciary, 56–62; and legal immunity, 72–4
Pomerania, violence of the Red Army in, 239
Pomerania, West. *See* Mecklenburg.
Ponomartchuk, Guards Lieutenant, order on peasants' delivery quotas, 103–4
Porath, a Court official, formerly member of gang of thieves, 102
Porth, a detective, 264
Portola works, Magdeburg, dismantled, 139
Ports, dismantling of, 172
Postal service, questions at examinations of candidates, 52; in chaos, 122
Potash, in Saxe-Anhalt, 138; shipped to Russia, 172
Potatoes, shortages of, 123, 170, 229; used for distilling schnapps, 123, 137, 234; declining crops, 136–7
"Potemkin Villages" of Land Reform Scheme, 227
Potsdam, 78–104
Potsdam Diet, effort to combat deterioration in administration of justice, 60
Potsdam Legal Administration, reports on delivery quotas, 214
Potsdam Provincial Government, connivance at crime, 99–100
Power-stations, dismantling of, 115
Pravda, 28
Prayer books, censorship of, 29
Pregnancy following rape, abortion provided for, 240
Premiums for early quota deliveries, 224–5
Press, censorship and distortion in Mecklenburg, 154–5
Press-gang methods, 183
Pretsch quarantine camp for screening prisoners of war, 272–3
Pretsch, Mayor of Halle, election speech of, 47
Prices, at hotels in Baltic resorts, 171; in calculating reparations, 117; obtained by Russians for German goods, 173
Printing-works, seized and dismantled during elections, 47
Prisoners, employed in Saxe-Anhalt, 68; living conditions of, 76; held without charge, 77; political, 105; deaths of, 110; beating of, 135; in Schneeberg, 197–8; robbed of belongings, 262. *And see* Concentration camps.
Prisoners-of-war in Soviet Union: trained in anti-fascist schools to become members of Communist Party, 36–7; messages to families at 1946 elections, 37; used to influence elections, 48; returning, 195; on transport of skilled deportees, 207; suspected persons, 272–3
Prisoners, women, raped by Russian officers, 96
Prisons, 75–7; dismantling, 75–6; the Buettner case, 78–82; in Saxony, 110–12; full of Socialists, 124; conditions in, 197; deaths in, 237
Pritzwalk Court, 73
Privileged classes, 49–51

Prodehl, a lawyer, arrested as a Nazi, 128–9
Production plans, impossible of achievement, 169
Production premiums, effect of on quality of goods, 51
Prohibited zone round concentration camps, 255
Promexport monopoly, 173, 297
Propaganda, Communist, in non-party organizations, 21, 31; cards used by prisoners of war to send home, 37–8; for "Unity", 51; by show trials, 65; circulation of, 100; in Thuringia, 191; in Mecklenburg, 153, 154; through League of Culture, 155–6; to recruit labour for mines, 199–200. *And see* Slogans.
Property, confiscation of, as supplement to imprisonment, 70; "transfer of property rights", 96; under Russian occupation, 112–14. *And see* Expropriations; Confiscations.
Prosecutors, political importance of, 61
Prostitution of young girls by Russian officers, 109
Protective arrest, 105, 138
Prussia, north-east, annexation of, 284–5
Public Health Service, employees obliged to join F.D.G.B., 52
Public Prosecutors, a Communist preserve, 58
Punishment camps, 37. *And see* Custody camps; Concentration camps.
Punishment companies in uranium pits, 196–7
Pupils, obliged to join "Unity" Party, 52
Puppe, "Unity" leader, corrupt practices of, 126
Purge Commission, 44
Purges: of Police, Welfare Office, and Fire Brigade (Leipzig) in 1946, 39–40; of High Court and prison officials, 42–3; of legal administration, 57; of lawyers, 62

Quality of goods uncontrolled, 51
Quarantine camps for screening prisoners of war, 272–3
Quays damaged, 172
Questions, the danger of asking, 282
Quotas: pressure on peasants for, 64; trials for failure to deliver, 67; instructions for, 155; in uranium mines, 191–2; "performance" quotas of "economically responsible persons", 213; peasants', 214; industrial, 218 *et seq.*; inter-community, 221 *et seq.*; unfulfilled, 229, 230–3. *And see* Agriculture; Peasants; Forced labour; Sabotage.

Radio works dismantled, 115
Raids into the Western Zone, 265–6
Railway coach yards, production of, for reparations account, 115
Railway Police recruited exclusively from "Unity", 52
Railways, dismantled, 139, 167–8, 295
Railways, Saxon State, dismantling of, 121–2
Rape, 25, 48; of women prisoners by Russian officers, 96; of German women during Red Army advance, 96; by Zippert, 128; in Nordhausen, 147; in Mecklenburg, 159, 167; a mass phenomena, 236 *et seq.*; list of places from which authenticated evidence is available, 241–5; by "men in Russian uniform", 250
Rasnoexport monopoly, 173, 293, 297
Rasnoimport, a Soviet company, 297
Ration-cards, election promises about, 47–8; distribution of, 49–50
Rations: of judges, 58; of prisoners, 76; in Saxony, 123; in Saxe-Anhalt, 136–7; of peasants, 233; of general population, 233–4. *And see* Food.
Raw materials, 294; acute shortage of, 116; stored for safety in Saxony, 117; confiscated, 117; control of, 141
Reactionary, Russian definition and use of, 40, 168
"Reactionary" workers, 23
Receivers, appointed by mobile peasant courts, for holdings of accused, 67
"Reception" camps for returning prisoners of war, 273
Reckenberg, Landrat of Osterburg, 129 *et seq.*
Reconstruction Loan, Mecklenberg, 156–7
Red Army: atrocities and excesses of, 14; confiscations by 41; brutality of troops, 53; all prisons emptied by, 75; plunder, kidnapping, and rape, 96 *et seq.*; glorified in Saxony, 105; and railway trains, 122; Russian officers interfere in prison routine, 125; plunder of Mecklenburg, 167 *et seq.*; forced labour used to prepare for Red Army Celebrations, 181; as slave drivers in uranium pits, 196–7; "living on the land", 234; atrocities committed by conquering hordes, 236 *et seq.*; deserters from, 248 *et seq.*
Red Cross supplies, stolen by officials, 144
Red Front Fighters' League, 135
"Red Stronghold", training school for leaders in Camburg, 26
Redicke, arrest and murder of, 159
Re-education, by N.K.V.D., of members of Hitler Youth, 80

Referendum, demanded by "Unity" Party on German unity, 41
Reger, Erik, editor of *Tagesspiegel*, 27
Regierungsblatt, a favoured newspaper, 28–9
Regis-Breitingen, brown-coal pits dismantled, 115, 182, 185–6
Registers of landed property destroyed, 228
Registration, general, of population, Mecklenburg, 168; of adult men, for uranium mines, 187; system in Eastern zone, 201; of specialists, for deportation, 206–7; of land, proposed, 221
Reich's Supreme Court, disappearance of, 56
Reichstag burning, 138
"Reliable men" replacing non-Communists, 49
"Reliable" observers, 17
Remmele, Hermann, fate of, 33
Reparations: no discussion permitted, 17, 286; Orders for, 47, 140, 141; in Saxony, 115; confiscated materials used for, 117; in Mecklenburg, 156, 158, 168–9, 172–3; "Extra" reparations, 173; "cloaked" reparations, 293
Repression, use of, 155
Requisitioning for State undertakings, 189–90
Research laboratories dismantled, 139
Residence of shareholders and arbitrary expropriations, 71
Resignation, "voluntary", of officials who do not "adapt" themselves, 17–18
Retrials of victims not sentenced severely, 64
Reuter, Dr., Lord Mayor of Berlin, 310
Revolution, November, in Russia, 283
Revolutionary movement, knowledge of, required in candidates for police force, 52
Rheinsberg, arrests of peasants in, for non-delivery of quotas, 104
Richt, Herr, shot and robbed by Russians, 251
Rink, a lawyer, beaten by Mehler, 145
Robberies, 48; by the Blue Limousine Gang, 94–5; in Mecklenburg, 159, 167; by "men in Russian uniform", 249 *et seq.*
Robbery with violence, a mass phenomena, 236 *et seq.*, 240, 246 *et seq.*; with violence and rape, 147
Rock-salt, in Saxe-Anhalt, 138
Roepcke, Heinrich, a peasant farmer in Mecklenburg, sentenced twice for one quota offence, 162–3
Roeth, Dr., specialist in metallurgy, N.K.V.D. hunt for, 265–6
Rogovski, Policeman, 94
Rohrbach, Frau, arrested by Schwanz, 145
Roitsch-Bitterfeld, concentration camp in, 254
Roofing-felt, all for Russian requirements, 169
Rossner, brutal chief of Political Department, 39–40
Rostock dock and harbour used exclusively for exports to Soviet, 172
Rostock University: migration of law students to Western Zone, 57; dismantling in, 168; scholars deported, 204–5
Roth, Paul, Landrat, black market offences, 146
Rothensee, "show" trial at, 65
Roumanian sections of anti-fascist P.O.W. schools, 36
Rubber works, Schkopau, production for U.S.S.R., 296
Rudnik, Colonel, propagandist of S.M.A.D., 286
Rudyenko, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commandant of Sachsenhausen concentration camp, 256
Ruhr and Saar district, 19
Ruling Class, new, in Russia, 49
Rural areas: terrorist pressure and municipal elections (Oct. 1946), 15; peasants and "Unity", 51
Russian occupation authorities, 14; and Fandrich, 90 *et seq.*; interference with justice and administration, 107, 132–6; and murders by Konrad, 127; avoidance of written instructions. *And see* S.M.A.; S.M.A.D.
"Russian custody", 106
Russian export firms in Saxony, 117
Russian foreign policy, 287
Russo-German Naphtha A.G. (Derunaphth), 298
Russian Secret Service and "People's Police", 74. *And see* N.K.V.D. and Police.
Russian strategy and the Eastern Zone, 283–316; Czarism in Red, 283–4; Big-Power strategy, 284–7; political stage-management, 287–8; transport statistics a State secret, 288–91; barriers against German economic unity, 291–4; Soviet accumulation, 294–9; working for Soviet orders, 299–301; the meaning of Order No. 234, 301–6; illuminating details, 306–10; Berlin to be "softened up", 310–12; education as a means of isolation, 312–15; penetration to absorption point, 315–16

Saalfeld optical works, workers deported, 204

Sabotage, 209–35, 303; the universal answer, 66; S.M.A. on, 149–50; accusation of, 155; conception of in Eastern Zone, 209; definition of, 209–10; psychosis of, introduced, 209–12; indictments from fear, 212–15; "accusations descend like rain", 215–18; hostages are taken, 218–21; mechanical delivery norms and administrative compulsion, 221–5; new "sabotage" produced in "land reform", 226–30; scapegoats, 230–3; trading with food, 233–5
Sacharov, Major, 282
Sachsenhausen concentration camp taken over by Russians, 89, 91, 254, 255–6; "reception" camp for returning prisoners of war, 273
Saechsische Handelszentrale G.m.b.H., 118
Safes, contents of, confiscated, 292
Saling, Dr., Attorney-General in Mecklenburg, and confiscated land, 166–7
Salt-mines, arrest and banishment to, 107
Salvation Army, persecution of, 273
Sanitation in prisons, 76
Sauckel, Nazi leader, 148
Savings Bank, Official, Saxony, 118
Saw-mills, Saxon, dismantled, 115
Saxe-Anhalt, under the Soviet, 59, 65, 67, 68, 126–41; criminals in power, 126–8; proceedings against former Nazis, 128–9; Summary jurisdiction with hand-picked jurors, 129–32; Russian interference in German administration, 132–6; threats and no assistance, 136–7; small firms unpaid, 137; new Concentration Camp Law, 138; dismantling, 138–40; natural resources, 138; monopolies, 141
Saxon Erz A.G. (tin), dismantled, 115
Saxon Government Bank, 118
Saxon Industriekontor, in control of materials and equipment, 118
Saxony, the "model land", 15; anti-fascist block, 21; licences to trade, 52–3; "Unity" and Nazis, 54; purge of legal administration, 57; expropriations, 71; a "model Red State", 105–25; a "police state", 105–10; prison conditions, 110–12; a caricature of socialization, 112–14; "Soviet Joint-Stock Companies" and Dismantling, 114–16; reckless exploitation, 117–18, "Land Reform", 118–21; chaos in the transport system, 121–2; evidence of dissatisfaction, 122–5
Schackensleben village, peasants of, chosen to fulfil model "plan", 225
Schade, a lawyer, arrested, 268
Schaefer, Herr, Frau, and Fraulein, robbed and blackmailed, 161
Schaefer, Social-Democratic Superintendent of Police, arrested, 39
Schaeffer & Budenberg, taken over by Soviet, 139; 12-hour day introduced, 140
Scheerbarth, Dr., evicted and sent to concentration camp, 89; arrested by Fandrich, 207–8
Schermer, denunciation of Hoffert, 129; assistant of Landrat Reckenberg, 129 *et seq.*
Schettig, black marketeer, 171
Schiffer, Dr., action against Fandrich, 93
Schliebitz, Hans, 80
Schmidt, Detective, search for arms by, 75
Schmidt, Heinz, director of S.M.A. controlled wireless, 30
Schmiedeberg uranium mines, 186
Schmuck, Frau, and Mueller's confiscated furniture, 98
Schnapps, potatoes used for, 82, 123, 170, 234
Schumacher, 52
Schneeberg prison, conditions in, 197–8
Schneider, Eduard, arrested in Bernau, 102
Schoeffen, definition of, 222 *n.*
Schoemberg prison, dismantled and left in filth by Russians, 76
Schoenberg, C.D.U. judges denounced in, 72; search for arms in, 75
Schoenberg, local leader of L.D.P., denounced as spy, 48
Schoenebeck Chemical Works, escape of staff to West, 206–7
Schoenfeld, Chief of Police of Frimma, in concentration camp, 272
Schoeppe, member of Blue Limousine Gang, 95, 100, 102
Schools, Communist Party, training of leaders in, 35–6; for prisoners of war, 36; Mecklenburg High School, 158
Schott glass works, Jena, workers deported, 204
Schreiner, of Comintern, return from exile in New York, 35
Schroeder, leader of the Blue Limousine Gang, 94–5
Schroeder, Dr., Saxon Attorney-General, 106, 111
Schroeder, Ludwig, and Max Mueller case, 98
Schroeder, Paul, a criminal, released by Red Army, 159–60
Schubert, Paul, arrested for possessing Western Zone newspapers, 27
Schuenemann, a farmer, beaten and robbed, 161

Schulz, a detective, 164
Schulz, Bernhard, a journalist, arrested, 271
Schulz, Lord Mayor of Rostock, in concentration camp, 271
Schulze, and Landrat Dietrich of Ruppin, 86–8
Schulze & Soehne, canning works, for reparations, 169
Schumacher, Dr., 52; his alleged supporters brutally treated, 166
Schumann works, Werdau, production for reparations, 300
Schuratov, Captain, 266
Schwabe, black marketeer, 171
Schwabe, Police President of Chemnitz, in concentration camp, 271–2
Schwanz, Mayor of Weissensee, involved in Hitkamp crimes, 143 *et seq.*
Schwarz, Lord Mayor of Guben, 42
Schwarzenberg uranium mines, evacuation of local inhabitants, 195
Schwarzmann, Captain, arrest of all landowners in Roda, 207–8
Schwenk, Mayor, 98
Schwerin, untrained public prosecutors and law officers in, 58; sterilization trials in, 69–70; legal administration in, 72
Scientists, a privileged class in Russia, 49; kidnapped and deported, 203, 204–5
"Screening" of persons from Western Zones, 263
S.D.R. (= Social Democratic Party): members in concentration camps, 13, 272; in resistance groups, 13; approach to Communists (1945), 13; and "Unity", 14; Communists anxious to get rid of, 49; and police examinations, 52; in Saxony, 124; members arrested and tortured, 268–70
Searchers, personal, of workers in Marienberg mines, 198
Secrecy on reparations, 294
Secret Police, Russian, and privileged classes, 49; in Thuringia Ministry. *And see* N.K.V.D.; Police.
S.E.D. = Socialist Unity Party. *See* "Unity".
Seed, shortage of, 229
Seehaber, Privy Councillor, imprisoned for criminal offences, 126
Seewald, a teacher, shot and robbed by Konrad, 127
Seizure of industrial undertakings, 299–300
Seizures, of men for forced labour, 183; of men, women, and children by Red Army, 237; of women, for rape by Red soldiers, 242 *et seq.*
Selbmann, Minister of Economic Planning, 186; and Saxon disasters, 116; and sentences for sabotage, 220–1
Sentences: of farmers and peasants for unfulfilled delivery quotas, 130 *et seq.*
Sequestration and Expropriation Committee, 34
Serebrienski, Colonel, Police Chief of S.M.A., Mecklenberg, 154 *et seq.*
Serov, Lieutenant, of S.M.A., 42–3; and the Buettner case, 79–82
Sexual beastliness of Russian soldiers, 244
Shareholders, residence of, and expropriations, 71
Shaw, Bernard, on the Ideological Index, 30
Shipping difficulties in Mecklenburg ports, 172
Shortages, crippling industrial firms, 169; of food at uranium mines, 194; suffered under Land Reform, 226–7
Siberia, deportation to forced labour camps in, 51, 207
Sickness, uncertificated, is absenteeism, 67; at Aue uranium mines, 192
Siedel and Neumann typewriter works dismantled, 115–16
Sieler, Heinz, Chief of Police, brutality of, 135
Siemens-Shuckert works, directors arrested for sabotage, 218
Siewert, Robert, howled down by hungry workers, 137
Silesia, violence of Red Army in, 239
Siloes dismantled, 139
Silting up of harbours, 172
Silviakov, Major, arrest and torture of Walde, 269–70
Simon, of Mecklenburg Ministry of People's Education, 156
Skilled workers, kidnapped and deported, 203
Skin diseases of prisoners, 76
Skorzirov, General, 153
Slave camps, Russian. *See* Labour camps.
Slave driving at uranium pits, 192–4, 196–7
Slave labour, 174 *et seq.*
Slogans, 26, 37–8, 41, 46, 53, 62, 105, 124–5, 169, 226
S.M.A. (Soviet Military Authority), and "Unity", 14; surveillance of C.D.U. and L.D.P., 17; and "bourgeois" parties, 19; and Jakob Kaiser, 20; and elections, 22, 45, 46, 47; licences to print granted by, 27; control of paper supplies, 28; and newspapers, 29; sterilization trials, 69; represented at all police stations, 74; and

delivery quotas, 103–4, 108, 131–2, 149, 150, 230–3; control of railway administration, 121–2; and Courts in Saxe-Anhalt, 132; method of issuing instructions, 157
S.M.A.D. (= Central Soviet Military Authority, Karlshorst), 18; and People's judges, 60–1; purge of lawyers, 62; "show" trials, 66; Expropriation Order (No. 124), 71; and prison conditions, 111; close-down of credit institutions, 118; instructions on agricultural quotas, 150; forced labour for uranium mines, 187; orders on "sabotage", 209, 212–14, 219–20, 231; fixing delivery quotas, 221–2; confiscations, 227
Smuggling through Forst, a frontier town, 82–4
Soap, none available in prisons, 76
Social Democratic Party. *See* S.D.P.
Social Insurance Fund, Province of Saxony, 118
"Socialist Competition" imposed from above, 211, 304–5
Socialist Unity Party (= S.E.D.). *See* "Unity".
Socialist Youth Association, persecuted by authorities, 26
Socialization, caricatured in Saxony, 112–14; of small industries, 158
Societies for the Study of Soviet Culture, 15
Sokolovski, Marshal, and elections, 47; on reparations account, 117; orders penal measures for forced labour, 184; Order on delivery of meat, 231–2; and Western Zones on reparations exchanges, 294; ultimatum to German industry, 301–2; on improvements in production, 303; on absenteeism, 303
Solvay Works, Bernburg, dismantled, 139
Sonnenschein, production of, for reparations, 296
Sonntag, Landrat, criminal charges against, 16, 43, 144 *et seq.*
Sorel, George, on the Ideological Index, 30
Soviet accumulation, 294–9
Soviet Export Film Company, 32
Soviet Joint-Stock Companies, 114–16, 139–40, 293
Soviet Military Authority. *See* S.M.A.
Soviet News Agency (TASS), 280
Soviet News Bureau (S.N.B.), special role in espionage, 280–2
Soviet Star, symbol of Free German Youth, 52
Soviet Union. *See* U.S.S.R.
Sovietization policy: F.D.G.B. as instrument of, 24
Sowings plans, method of composing, 232–3
Soyuspushina, a Soviet company, 297
Spain, International Brigade in, 55, 155
Spas, in Saxe-Anhalt, 138
Special Courts. *See* Courts.
Specialists, "directed" to unspecified centres, 201
Speeches, censorship of, 17, 155
Speed records, 182
Spicker, a Jew, beaten insensible by Red Army, 237
Spiegel, a chief engineer, deported, 204
Spies: spy scare, 261–3; ubiquity of, 274–5; system of "confidants", 277–8; recruited by press-gang methods, 278–80. *And see* Espionage.
Spitzer, Vice-Chief of Police, 200
Sport: controlled by and monopoly of Free German Youth, 25
Sports arenas, upkeep by forced labour, 182
Sprindt labour camp, 238
Springer, Frau, of Langewahl, 97–8
Spruch, a railway official, 88
Stadtroda: election speeches censored, 46
Stahlberg, Walter, swindler of Potsdam, 95, 102
"Stahlhelm", Nationalist, membership of, and "Unity", 72
Stalin, 74, 105
"Stalin Parcels" for privileged classes, 50
Stalins Ergebener Diener = popular transof S.E.D. (Socialist Unity Party), 54
Stange, Dr., a Potsdam lawyer, 100
Stange, Wilhelm, a criminal, appointed Landrat, 160–2
Stargardt, Minister of Justice, and arrest of Fandrich, 93
Starvation, of prisoners, 76–7; in Thuringia, 151; in Koenigsberg, 238
State Insurance Institute, Dresden, 118
State-owned factories in Saxe-Anhalt, 141
State undertakings: organization of expropriated industry in Saxony, 113
Statistics: Membership of F.D.G.B., 22; prisoners of war attending anti-fascist schools for Communist training, 38; of "Unity" purge of legal administration, 57; of industrial expropriation in Saxony, 112–13; land redistribution in Saxony, 118–19; deaths from typhus (Leipzig, 1947), 123; agricultural structure in Saxe-Anhalt, 136; dismantling in Saxe-Anhalt, 139; of State monopoly in Saxe-Anhalt, 141; bureaucracy in Mecklenburg, 157; expropriations and State-owned undertakings in Mecklenburg, 158; suicides in Rostock and

Warren, 167; Mecklenburg timber for reparations, 169; forced labour drives, 182; accident rate and fatalities in forced labour, 185–6; forced labour in uranium pits, 187; police records of ex-servicemen, 201; fugitives from Soviet Zone, 202; scientists deported from Rostock University and elsewhere, 205–6; expropriations under "Land Reform", 226; shortages of farm houses, equipment, and animals, 226–7; yields and rate of production of crops, 229; failures to fulfil delivery quotas, 229; idle land, 232; of violent death and disease in Koenigsberg after entry of Red Army, 237–8; of abortions provided for pregnancy following rape, 240; of robbery with violence in Zwickau, 240; concentration camps and inmates, 254–5, 257; mortality rates at concentration camps, 260; missing young people, 267; "news collectors", 281; a State secret, 289–91; large-scale industries taken over by Soviet companies, 293; dismantling, 295 *et seq.*; of industrial undertakings seized by Soviet, 300; production for reparations account, 300; absenteeism and black market, 302; "new" teachers, 313

Statistics, Industrial, Central Committee for, in Saxony, 113

Steel, production (1946–7), 116; imported, 291

Steidle, General, recruited to Communist Party, 38

Steimel, Director of Oberspree Cable Works, deported, 204

Steinhoff, Dr., autocratic regime in Potsdam, 99, 103, 226; and Frau Neuwald's petition, 101; on peasant "wreckers", 234

"Steinkohle", Russian industrial undertaking, 116

Stendhal, locomotives commandeered from running trains, 122

Sterilization operations, political considerations and trials for, 68–70

Stern-Buchholz, concentration camp in, 255, 268

Stert, Nazi assistant in Russian kidnapping schemes, 206

Steudtner, Lord Mayor of Arnstadt, 309

Stock, Privy Councillor, arrested on serious charges, 126

"Stool pigeons", 268–70

Storkov Court, without judge, clerk, or bailiff, 84–5; expropriations for private advantage, 85–6

Stralsund, dock and harbour in Russian hands, 172; men "arrested" for forced labour, 183

Strikes in Saxony, 123; a form of sabotage, 209–10; threats of, 309–10

Students, failure of, to vote for "Unity" at Leipzig, 54; migration to Western Zone, 57

Stuttgart: wireless jammed by Russians, 30

Sugar, manufacture of, 136; industry dismantled, 139, 168; police guard on factories, 150; exported to Russia, 150

Sugar-beet, in Saxe-Anhalt, 136; instructions on quotas, 150

Suicides, 167, 203, 228

Sweden, imports of fertilizers, 172; value of exports to, 296

"Swift Russian justice", effect of, 63

Switzerland, coal and textiles exported to, 296; charity from, used for Soviet treasury, 297

Taegliche Rundschau, official organ of Red Army, 28–9, 77, 111, 142

Tagesspiegel, hated by Russians, 27

Talizy, anti-fascist school in, 36

Tangermunde, dismantling in, 139

Tappan, of American Military Court, arrested as a spy, 263

TASS, Moscow news service, 29

Tcheka, 36

Teaching profession, members "advised" to join "anti-Fascist" party, 52; close control of, 155; the "new" teachers, 313–14

Technicians, a privileged class in Russia, 49; kidnapped and deported, 203, 204

Technique of a political purge, 43

Techno-Export monopoly, 173

Teege, a woman "inconvenient witness", 161

Teichmann, Mayor of Rodeluebbe, 164

Telefunken works, skilled workers deported, 204

Telegraf, 27; denunciation of Landrat Paatz, 102

Telephone system, disruption of, 295

Teltow area deprived of food after elections, 48

Terrorization, common to Nazi and Fascist, 51; use of, 155, 212

Texta G.m.b.H., Berlin, a façade for S.M.A.D. exports, 117

Textile industry, dismantled, 115, 139; domestic requirements, 117; raw materials confiscated, 117; textiles exported, 296

Thale, "protective arrest" of a worker in, 33

Theatre programmes, censorships of, 154

Theatres, control of, 31–3

Theek, Comrade, Mayor of Ludwigslust, 171

Theft a virtue in a Red soldier, 246

Theopold, Judge, and the Buettner case, 82
"Third-degree" methods, 96
Thomas, Police-Sergeant, and the Buettner case, 78, 81
Thuezinger Jolk, organ of "Unity" party, 28
Thuringia: Youth School in, 26; electoral frauds in, 45; Nazis in, 54; sterilization laws, 68; under the Soviet, 142–52; criminal officials, 142–7; Mayors as hostages, 147; provocation, 147–8; a Russian show trial, 148; "Independence and responsibility", 149–51; starvation and black market, 151; constitutions by order, 151–2
Tilgner, Judge, Chairman of C.D.U., removed from office, 42
Timber, carted off by Soviet, 169; for new houses, confiscated by S.M.A.D., 227
Tin mines dismantled, 115
Tiulpanov, Colonel, of Information Department, S.M.A.D., 25–6, 27–8, 286, 287, 302, 310
Tool-making industry dismantled, 115
Torgau chemical works: "show" trial on absenteeism, 64–5
Torgau, concentration camp, 254, 257; evidence of escaped prisoner, 258–9
Torps, Mayor of Bernau, 102
Torture, 268–70; used to extort confessions, 164–6; for refusing work in Russia, 259–60
Torture-bunkers in use in concentration camps, 255–6
Tost, concentration camp, 257
Totalitarian systems contrasted with civilized conceptions, 55
Totoal Works, Apolda, workers deported, 204
Trade: licences in Saxony granted only to "Unity" members, 52
Trade Unions, in uranium mines, 198–9. *And see* F.D.G.B.
Traffic regulations of occupation authorities, 63
Trains, halted and passengers sent to forced labour, 184; behaviour of Red soldiers in, 243, 246
Trampe. Frau, shot dead by robbers, 249
Transport, State-controlled in Saxony, 118, 121–2; confusion, 167–8; shortages, 169; conditions of deportee transports, 207; statistics a State secret, 288–91
Trials, "show", 62–7, 148
Trickery, in hand with intimidation, 51–2
Tschipikov, Lieutenant, Russian Liaison Officer in Buettner case, 81
Tuberculosis of girls in Ruedersdorf D.P. camp, 240
Typewriter works dismantled, 115
Typhus epidemic, Leipzig, 1947, 123; from hunger epidemic in Koenigsberg, 237–8

Ueberhorst, robbed by Hitkamp gang, 143
Uelzen, camp for fugitives, 202
Ulbricht, Walter, Communist leader: Author of "New Tasks of the Free Trade Unions", 23; a leader of "Unity", 33–4; in control of appointments, 49; on increasing absenteeism, 302
Union (Dresden), confiscated, 29
Union of Victims of Fascism (V.V.N.), 15
United Children's Association "Kinderland", 26
United States, 26; return of German Communists from, 34
"Unity" Party (= Socialist Unity Party = S.E.D.), founded by Communists (1946), 14; anti-fascist unity desired by working-classes, 13; Communist campaign for organizational unity (1946), 14; on the Anti-Fascist Block, 15; trickery in elections, 21–2; newspaper circulation of, 28; the role of, 33–4; leadership of, 33; the reliable followers, 34–6; vague unrest in, 39; campaign for German unity, 41; political programme a sham, 41; co-operation with Russian authorities, 44–5; election leaflet in Jueterbog, 47; subordinate to occupation authorities but with large measure of control, 49; and bribery in kind, 50; propaganda made easy, 51; resignation from followed by reprisals, 53; enemies in ranks of, 53–4; in elections for Students Council, Leipzig University, 54; broken promises, 54; initials translated as *Stalins Ergebener Diener*, 54; purge of legal administration, 57; on aims pursued in juridical innovations, 61–2; and need for "preparation" of trials, 66; newspapers and meetings on Mecklenburg sterilization trials, 69–70; and expropriations, 71; arbitrary proceeding of, and the Judiciary, 72–4; in control of "People's Police", 74; and the Buettner case, 82; and confiscations at Kolberg, 85–6; unlucky with their nominees, 86; and the Blue Limousine Gang, 95; and Potsdam Provincial Government, 99–100; mudslinging in municipal elections, 101–3; and peasants' delivery quotas, 104; monopoly of Press in Saxony, 106; in power in Saxony, 105; arrest

of political opponents, 105; in control of all Landrat appointments, 108–9; and conditions in Saxon prisons, 111; and expropriations in Saxony, 112, 114; privileges of, in Saxony, 123; secret police organization of, 124; corrupt practices of members, 126; theft of shoes intended for fugitives from Silesia, 140; members as directors of State monopoly, 141; members not to be arrested for crime, 145; and the Thuringian Constitution, 152; in Mecklenburg, 153 *et seq.*; Reconstruction Loan, Mecklenburg, 156–7; and direction of labour, 175 *et seq.*; and forced labour for uranium mines, 196; and indictments for "sabotage", 215; and food shortages, 234–5; and crimes of Red Army, 251; and the spy scare, 261; spies and eavesdroppers, 274–5; in all key positions, 288; and expropriations, 299; and Sokolovski Order No. 234, 307
University lectures, censored in Mecklenburg, 155
Upper Silesia, coal and coke imported from, 116
Uranium mines, forced labour in, 186–200; labour beasts, 190–2; "work till you drop", 192–4, 196–7; evacuation of local inhabitants, 194–9; lying propaganda, 199; deported Germans in, 206. *And see* Forced labour.
Urban, a miller of Velten, of "Unity" not prosecuted for adulterating and stealing flour, 73
U.S.S.R. (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics), return of German Communists from, 34; schools for prisoners of war in, 36; aim to make Germany satellite, 41; system of privileged élite, 49, 50–1; "justice" in, 56; "show" trials in, 63; "Courts of Honour" in 67; sabotage in, 209 *et seq.*; the November Revolution, 283

Varnsted area, disasters by hail storms ignored in demanding quotas, 233
Vassilienko, Major, arrest and torture of Auer, 268–9
Velten, "Unity" party in, and local judiciary, 73
Venereal diseases: "show" trial of women accused of infecting Soviet officers, 66; of girls in D.P. camp, 240
Villages, travelling cinemas for, 31; heavily fined for quota arrears, 64; plundered by Red Army deserters, 248 *et seq.*
Violence of Russian military authorities, 39, 159, 167. *And see* Robberies; Rape.
Vishinsky, 61, 287
Vlassov troops, in Mecklenburg after collapse, 159
Voigt, Landrat, 42–3
Voigt, President of the Court, report on "show" trial of directed labour, 65–6
Volchov Lieutenant, anxiety to cremate murdered people, 254
Volgmann, Paul, Communist official, 135 *et seq.*
"Voluntary action" under compulsion, 309–10
von Huetten, Ulrich, on the Ideological Index, 30
von Meissner, Erich, and criminal Zippert, 127–8
von Paulus, Field Marshal, 38
von Seydewitz, General, 38
V.V.N. = Union of Victims of Fascism, *q.v.*

Wachsmuth, head of "Political Department" in Grossenhain, imprisoned for housebreaking, 110
Wackernagel, Communist, head of the Murder Commission, 135
Wages, at uranium mines, 191, 194
Wagner, Communist, appointed Police President in Leipzig
Wagner, Gerd Chairman of Dresden L.D.P., "disappearance" of, 20
Wagon-building works, Dessau, taken over by Soviet, 139
Walde, a Social Democrat, arrested and tortured, 269–70
Wallace, 26
Wallraff, Police President, and show trial at dismantling of Brabag works, 65
Wallstab, Willi, Police President in Magdeburg, 133–45
War, glorified in Russian films, 31
War booty, world famous paintings taken as, 315
Warncke, Minister for Domestic Administration, Mecklenburg, 153
Watch factories dismantled, 116
Weidenhofer, a detective, 266
Weimar, residence of Moscow's Viceroy, 142
Weimar Republic, collapse of, 13; prison conditions in, 110–11
Weinert, Erich, Chairman of Free German Committee of prisoners of war in Soviet, 38
Weiss, a Communist, and the trial of Prodehl, 128–9
Weissensee: the Landrat Sonntag case, 16, 144 *et seq.*
Welkow, Herr, Branch Secretary of L.D.D., resignation of, 20
"Werwolf", 147–8
Wessels, District Chairman, C.D.U.: house searched for hidden arms, 75

Westerodt, a Communist official, 134
Westphal, Frau, arrest and murder of, 159
Wetzstein, potato-dealer, accused of sabotage, 217
Wheat, shortage of seed, 229
Wiesemann, Detective-Inspector, and Wallstab, 134
Wilde, Public Prosecutor, 92
Wilder, Thornton, an "undesirable" author, 31
"Wilhelm III", nickname of Wilhelm Pieck, 33
Wilsch, Rolf, arrested as a spy, 262
Winkler, Detective-Inspector, and the Buettner case, 78–82
Wireless, controlled by S.M.A., 30, 51
Wismar carriage works, production for reparations, 300
Wismar, dock and harbour in Russian hands, 172
Wisnievski, Willi, shot by Red Army soldier, 250
Witsch, Josef, chief of Thuringian Council for Books and Libraries in Jena, 40
Wittgendorf: N.K.V.D. arrest man for possessing Western newspapers, 27
Wolf, engineer, escape of, followed by seizure and deportation of wife and family, 205
Wolfram mines dismantled, 115
Woodman, Dorothy, pseudonym of Schreiner, 35
Workers: forced into membership of F.D.G.B., 23
"Workers' control", façade of, 306
Workers' Council, protests of, 307
Working class unity not achieved, 39
"Working Committee of Anti-Fascist Students", academic liberty threatened by, 274
"Work-shy elements", 185
"Work-shys" in prison, 197–8
Works Councils, 112, 113
Women, mobilized as forced labour, 183; replacing men called for forced labour, 183; for forced labour, 188; as winders and carriers in uranium mines, 191; recruited for uranium mines, 193; employed underground in uranium mines, 198; sufferings of, in crimes against humanity, 236 *et seq.*; raped or destroyed in Koenigsberg, 238; deaths from injuries inflicted by rape, 239; stripped, robbed, and shot, 249 *et seq.*
Women's League, in Saxe-Anhalt, 136
"Wreckers" of the "plan", Saxony, 222
Wuerzen, Nazi concentration camp, 260
Wuest, Frau, of "Unity", not prosecuted for theft of textile coupons, 73
Wuttke, a criminal, 160–2

Yakupov, Lieut.-Colonel, and the "show" trial at Brabag works, 66; and prison conditions, 111
Yalta agreement and withdrawal of American army, 48
Young workers in forced labour camps, 183; at uranium mines, 193–4
Youth Parliament at Meissen, 25, 26
Youth School Schwartzburg, 26
Youth World, The, 25

Zahn, Werner, Mayor of Potsdam, 95, 102
Zaisser, reliable Communist, 35
Zander, Dr., Landrat of Grimma, removed for "sabotage", 108
Zeiss factory, Jena, mass deportations of workers to Soviet, 203
Zeitz machinery works, taken over by Soviet, 139
Zhukov, Marshal, Order No. 160 on sabotage, 209
Ziefer, Communist police official, 269
Zimmer, Nazi assistant in Russian kidnapping schemes, 206
Zippert, Willi, a criminal in power, 127–8
Zittlau, a Communist, and the trial of Prodehl, 128–9
Zschorlau uranium mines, 186
Zwickau, local "Unity" celebrations of Russian "liberation", 48; "custody" camp at, 105; "anti-corruption" campaign in, 110; author's visit and report on search for pitchblende, 187
Zwion labour camp, 238